of new territorial units. Colonies of the same lineage are found in several settlements, so that in any settlement several different descent groups are represented, one of them, as I have already explained, being always dominant in it and identified with the settlement politically. Although the dispersed lineages of a clan do not intermarry, and sometimes acknowledge their common descent in other ways, a man generally thinks in terms of his localized lineage, reference being usually to the ancestor who founded the lineage in his settlement. It is interesting to note a further common feature of lineage systems: the descendants of a man who has settled with his wife's people trace their descent through the wife to the lineage in whose home they live. This practice is, as among the other Nilotic peoples, one of the ways in which stranger lineages are grafted into the genealogical structure of the dominant lineage in a settlement. However, until we know more than we do at present about the distribution of lineages, about their genealogical structure, and about the part they play in inter-settlement relations it will not be possible to estimate fully their political significance.

All the Shilluk settlements compose a common polity, the kingdom of Shillukland. They are

Northern Shillukland and southern Shillukland 631
are the arches of the politico-religious kingdom of
the Shilluk of which the kingship is the keystone.
That segmentation has taken this particular form [361]
is doubtless due to the peculiar ribbon-distribution
of the Shilluk settlements.

The whole Shilluk people recognize a single 643
head and we can therefore speak of the Shilluk 173
nation and of their king, and it is with his place in
the national polity that this lecture is particularly
concerned. According to Shilluk tradition the
present king is the thirty-first of his line. All the [775]
kings are believed to be descended from Nyikang,
the leader of the Shilluk in their heroic age, who
led them into their present homeland, conquering
it from its inhabitants and dividing it among the
lineages of his followers; and Nyikang, or, as we
would say, the spirit of Nyikang, is believed to be
in every king and to have passed from king to king
down the line of his successors. Nyikang is thus
a mythological personification of the timeless king-
ship which itself symbolizes the national structure,
a changeless moral order.

The rule of succession is that only a son of a king
can be invested with the kingship. As many sons 644
of kings have never succeeded to the throne, there 565
614

644 are to-day numerous and widely diffused branches
565 of the royal clan whose members are ineligible for
614 royal office and lack authority, unless they are also chiefs of settlements, although they are treated with deference by commoners in virtue of their descent.
[162] Indeed, the royal clan is easily the largest single clan in the whole country, being said to comprise perhaps a fifteenth of the nation. In some areas its
[622] members are more numerous than commoners and have supplanted commoner lineages in the chief-
[173] tainship of settlements. This process, which continues to-day, has been going on for a long time, for it is said that Abudok, the eighth ruler (and only queen) of the Shilluk, prophesied that one day the royal clan would eat up the rest of the Shilluk.[1]
644 It results from the custom of sending pregnant
591 wives of a king from the royal capital to bear their children in other, generally their natal, settlements. Their daughters are not allowed to
[611] marry and therefore do not start lines of descent which would count as sisters' sons to the royal house. Their sons are brought up by settlement chiefs, often their mothers' brothers, and not in the capital. When a prince (*nyireth*) marries he builds a separate hamlet near that of the settlement chief

[1] Westermann, *op. cit.* p. 149.

who has reared him and there his descendants live. 644
Some lineages of the royal clan, the *ororo*, have 591
been formally deprived of their noble status and 565
can now intermarry with their parent clan. They 614
are said to be descendants of Ocolo, the fifth king, who were degraded by his successor, but Father Hofmayr's and Father Crazzolara's accounts[1] would suggest that some of them may be descended from nobles degraded by other kings, and further research will probably confirm this. They are few in number but they hold the important chieftainship of Tonga settlement and they play a leading part in the royal funerary and investiture rites. A king always has some of their daughters among his wives and it is said to be their duty to smother him in certain circumstances.

The emergence of what may be called aristocratic status has been accompanied by the formation of numerous groups of persons of the category of *bang reth*, royal clients. They are descendants of retainers of past kings—captured enemies, certain homicides, persons who have become possessed by the spirit of Nyikang, and poor men who have 565 644 613

[1] Wilhelm Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk* (1925), pp. 66, 83, and 261–2; P. J. P. Crazzolara, 'Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Religion und Zauberei bei den Schilluk', *Anthropos* (1932), p. 185.

ROYAL ELECTION AND INVESTITURE

643 The phases of the investiture of a new king were
114 excellently described by Mr P. Munro[1] of the Sudan Political Service, who was an eye-witness of the investiture of King Fafiti Yor, the twenty-ninth king, in 1918. However, the recent accounts by Mr Howell and Mr Thomson, who were able to make detailed observations on what happened on the death of King Fafiti Yor in 1943 and on the election and investiture of his successor, King Anei, in 1944 and again (Mr Thomson) on the death of King Anei and on the election and investiture of King Dak Fadiet in 1945, are descriptively fuller and analytically more illuminating and are therefore followed in the present summary.

643 On the death of a king his corpse is walled for
766 some months in a hut and his bones are then buried in his natal hamlet, and not in the royal capital. The remains are disposed of, and the mortuary
[767] ceremonies conducted, by royal clients, *ororo*, and
[614] members of the royal clan (the head of which is not the ruling king but the chief of Fadiang settlement).

[1] P. Munro, 'Installation of the Ret of the Chol (King of the Shilluks)', *S.N. and R.* (1918).

It is more a clan, than a national, affair. The election of the new king, which takes place a few days after his predecessor's death, is, on the contrary, an affair of the whole Shilluk people, who participate in the election through the chiefs of the north and the south, to whom I have already referred.

These persons reflect in their roles in the election and in the ceremonies of investiture the structural dichotomy of Shillukland. We have seen that the Shilluk kingdom has a double configuration, political in its territorial setting, in its division into north and south and marches and settlements, and ritual in its religious setting, its arrangement in relation to the cult of Nyikang. In the ritual configuration the dichotomy is represented by the ceremonial division of the country into Gol Dhiang the northern division, and Gol Nyikang, the southern division, which correspond structurally to the political division of the kingdom into Ger, the northern half, and Luak, the southern half, though geographically they are not exactly coterminous. The chiefs of the ceremonial divisions in this ritual representation of the Shilluk polity are also the political chiefs of Golbany and Kwom, the two settlements which are to the north and south adjacent to the capital and cult-centre,

chiefs of branches of the royal clan which have become dominant in powerful settlements in the country. Thus the backing, if only passive, of all parts of the kingdom is necessary before a prince can be invested with the kingship. The participation of the halves of Shillukland in the making of a king is further emphasized in the intense opposition between them expressed in the drama of the investiture, which at the same time enacts the conquest and settlement of the country by Nyikang and his followers.

Without the collective participation of the halves of the country the investiture of a king, which takes place about a year after his election, cannot be held. The ceremonies would seem to have precisely this function, for the kingship represents the whole country and a king can only be made by rites in which the whole country takes part. Hence also in the investiture all sections of the population are represented. The royal clan, its dispossessed branch, the commoner clans, especially those whose ancestors were among the original followers of Nyikang, and the client clans, all have essential roles in the drama. Different settlements in different districts of Shillukland and different clans are responsible for performing various parts of the

shrine of Akurwa to the Nyikang of the king in Fashoda. The king is now reverenced and the effigy is sent back to Akurwa. 643 775

It is Nyikang, mark you, the symbol of the whole Shilluk people, who is the king-maker. The kingship belongs to all the people and not to the royal clan. Indeed, I think it significant that when Nyikang captures the king-elect the latter is ostentatiously surrounded by a block of his own clan. In this connection it is to be hoped that more will be learnt about the distribution now and in the past of the royal clan. The traditional home of Nyikang was Fanyikang, a settlement in the south, and the ritual equivalent to the southern half of the kingdom is Gol Nyikang. It seems likely on these, and on other, grounds that the royal clan was at one time found chiefly, perhaps only, in the south and spread from there to those northern settlements in which it is found to-day, as has happened among the closely related Anuak people. Hence in the ceremonies of investiture it seems as though the Shilluk people, represented by Nyikang and the army of the north, capture the king and take him away from his clan, represented by the army of the south, to be the head of the whole nation. The ritual of investiture appears to be an 643 644 614 [173] [174]

614 enactment of this central dogma, that it is not an
643 individual who belongs to a particular clan or to
644 a particular part of the country who is king, but Nyikang in whom are the continuity and welfare of the whole Shilluk people.

ROYAL SUCCESSION AND REGICIDE

643 We may now examine, in the light of what we have
114 learnt about the position of the kingship in Shilluk society and particularly about the polarity so clearly expressed in the ceremonies I have reviewed, the mode of succession to royal office and the tradition of regicide which is so closely connected with it. Although Professor and Mrs Seligman say, 'We found no basis for the belief, common among Europeans in the Shilluk country, that there were two, or even three or four, branches of the royal house from which the kings were elected in turn',[1] the early *Sudan Intelligence Reports* make it clear that this was the case in recent decades and also that rivalry between claimants to the kingship in
[631] the second half of the nineteenth century was connected with the balanced opposition between north and south, for the halves of the kingdom fairly

[1] *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, pp. 44–5.

consistently supported rival candidates.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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63| on page 45. Gar, the northern division, has Golbat as its capital. Each division has five provinces; those of Lwak from south to
[719] north are Tung or Tonga, Odong or Panyikang (Fenikang, with capital Fenikang, containing the great shrine of Nyakang, perhaps the holiest of all Shilluk shrines), Adod or Dichin, and Padit, while Gar is divided into Dithwok, Dimoth, Nom, Dityang Dwong, and Jangoriang; the two latter are more or less equivalent to the geographical area called Mwom, embracing the most northerly portion of the Shilluk kingdom with its capital Akurwa, the site of one of the most important shrines of Nyakang.

The chiefs of Mwom and Tonga were said to wield most power; the chief of Kwom is naturally somewhat eclipsed by the presence of the king in this district.

36| It is difficult to describe a Shilluk village; in fact, the word is hardly applicable to the Shilluk settlement. In typical Shilluk country on the west bank a series of small hamlets may be seen lying from a quarter to a mile or more back from the river, succeeding each other, as has been well said, like beads on a string. Most of these hamlets are small, consisting of only a few homesteads. Each homestead
59| belongs to one householder and contains some three or four huts
39| surrounded by a fence of millet stalks. One hut is the sleeping apartment of the householder and his wife—if there is more than one wife each woman will have her own hut—one is used for cooking, and others may be assigned to servants, or slaves if any are attached to
• 61| the family. The householders in each hamlet are members of a single
62| clan, with descent in the male line, and are often closely related by blood.

Thus the hamlet is both a social and a local group, and though the usual word for clan is *kwo* (which is also used for "family" or "ancestor", and for "grandfather") our informants at Fenikang often used the territorial prefix *pu* (or *fu*), which literally means "place", for the group that occupied one hamlet. It is clear that members of the same *kwo* are clansmen, whether they dwell in one hamlet or are located at a distance. Another word that seemed to have the same significance was *gol*. Actually, as Mr. Henry
613 informs us, this is a smaller unit formed within the *kwo*, arising
614 through some influential man starting a settlement of his own, when his descendants (living there) form his *gol* until they become a large
621 and powerful unit, take a new name, and become a *kwo*. Thus the *gol* Nyikako near Doleib Hill takes its name from an influential

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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613 man of that name; should this *gol* become strong enough, it will
614 take a new name and become *kwa* Kako. This agrees well with
621 Westermann's statement that *gol* means enclosure, home, homestead, family. It is seen in the names of some settlers, e.g. Golokogo, corresponding with the *kwa* Okogo of Westermann.

621 Several hamlets in the midst of their cultivation patches form a
631 *fowe*, which might be called a village group, under a chief (*jago*). A number of *fowe*, each with its own grazing ground (*wad*), form a *fiido* (district), a number of *fiido* going to form each of the ten provinces of the Shilluk kingdom.

621 Fenikang, which is relatively large for a Shilluk village, consists of only two clans, the Golokogo and Panetii, both traditionally attached to the great shrine. As their homesteads are built in two groups round the dancing space by the shrine, Fenikang corresponds more to our idea of a village than do most of the groups of isolated Shilluk hamlets, while Fashoda, with perhaps forty to fifty homesteads, has a special organization since it is inhabited only by royal wives and a few herdsmen. As a rule the number of homesteads in any Shilluk village is not great; there are, however, some large "villages". Arwadzi, north of Kodok, is, or was, the largest, and in 1913 was said to contain 120 homesteads.

Qu 114 As regards the clans themselves, Westermann gives a formidable list[1]; actually many of these are not clans; he mistakenly raises a number of princely families to clan rank (e.g. *kwa* Nyadwai, the descendants of King Nyadwai) and he also includes a *kwa* Nikai, which, as Hofmayr points out,[2] stands for *kwa* Nyakai, i.e. the family of Nyakai, the crocodile mother of Nyakang (pp. 83-4) who is "related" to every member of the royal family. Whether families founded by foreigners have attained true clan rank, e.g. *kwa* Okogi, we cannot say, but it may well be so.

789 There are numerous observances connected with animals, including
830 some which might be called taboos, but we did not ourselves discover
819 any definite evidence of totemism, though as already stated clan exogamy prevails. On the other hand both Westermann and Hofmayr consider that totemism exists. Westermann gives the following
793 example:—
826

"The ostrich and the crane and Dang were split out of the ground, all three are three-twin children. Dang went into a certain village, the ostrich went into the bush, and the crane flew up. We were born by Dang. Akwon (the

[1] Op. cit., 190-92. [2] Op. cit., 137, where Westermann's list is criticized.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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Westermann gives *mayo-mai* and *ma-mai* for *nana*,[1] without specifying what is meant by this term, but it seems probable that he found on the Sobat the same nomenclature in use as we found at Fenikang and that *mayo-mai* corresponds to the word *apith mio* here.

From the above it is clear that the Shilluk system, whether it be considered classificatory or not, recognizes clan relationship as well as family relationship, and distinction according to generation. Clans are definitely patrilineal, and the terms used by a man present no anomalies. All men of a man's own generation in his clan are his *awa*; his mother's clansmen of his own generation are his *awa*. All men of his mother's generation whom she calls *awa* are his *ne*; from the point of function, however, there is a distinction—it is only the mother's father's son who is important as a *ne*. For a man all his wife's clansmen are his *awa*; this is, however, a reciprocal term used between a man and his wife's parents and a man and his wife's brother. The reciprocal to wife's brother (sister's husband) is used in a wide sense to include the husband of any "cousin"—*nyima*, *nyimia*, *nyima*, or *nyuaja*. As will be seen later, the most important of these *awa* are the own sister's husband and the husband of the *nyuaja*. A man calls *awa* the "parents-in-law" of all his *awa*, and also the brothers of the wives of his *awa*. When *awa* means "mother-in-law" it is used in the widest classificatory sense to include the wives of any man whom the wife calls "father", as well as any woman who stands in that relationship (classificatory mother-in-law) to a man's *awa* (examples will be given later). The wife's sister, however, is not *awa*, but the wife's brother's wife is.[2] Thus it may be seen that the *awa* cannot possibly belong to one clan but are the "mothers", "fathers", and "brothers-in-law" of a man in the wide classificatory sense of the terms mother, father, and brother.

When a woman speaks, the term *awa* has a much less wide significance. Her *awa* are only those "brothers" of her husband who are the sons of his mother and of his mother's sister. The term *awa* implies respect and ceremonial behaviour when used by either sex.

Nera.—This term requires special mention. It is applied by a woman only to the *awa* of her husband. Correctly speaking it is

[1] Op. cit., 180.

[2] The wife's brother's wife may usually be expected to be one of the wife's people and so an *awa*; but it seems by no means unusual for a man to call his wife's brother's wife by reciprocity a "mother-in-law", because a man has a right to her daughter as a secondary wife.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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be that a married woman considers herself a member of her husband's family, but as a sign of respect addresses her husband's relatives in each case as though she belonged to a younger generation than she does in reality. A custom in vogue among the Shilluk may have some connection with this usage, i.e. widows other than the mother are taken as wives by a man's sons. Further, it is not considered disgraceful for young unmarried sons to sleep with their own father's wives. A young wife may thus see herself as the consort to two generations at once, and address her husband's sisters and parents by those terms that she would use if she were wife of the younger of the two successive mates. A woman still belongs to her own clan after marriage, so it seems strange that she should use the terms employed by her husband. In this connection it must be noted that in some districts husband and wife address one another as *awaa* and *nyimia* before the birth of the first child, and that a man calls his wife's sister *nyimia*. This last anomaly may be due to some feeling that the wife is taken into the family of her husband, though no adoption ceremony was discovered. It should be noted that a man calls his wife's sister "sister"; he does not treat her with any ceremony, and if she visits her married sister the husband is not bound by any taboos, though he cannot have connection with her as he can with his *yawa*. In certain circumstances (the death or barrenness of a wife) he may marry her.

Everywhere the "in-law" relationship is one that requires much tact, and the Shilluk, as is usual in savage society, show respect by means of ceremonial avoidance. While much emphasis is laid upon the avoidance of persons related by marriage, it should be noted that there is no avoidance between blood-relations—a man does not avoid his mother, sister, or daughter.

A Shilluk avoids all those whom he calls *ora*, of whom the first in importance is the wife's mother. In those parts of the Shilluk country that we visited, avoidance of the mother-in-law implied that a man must not enter her house, and care would be taken never to meet her face to face out of doors. If a man saw his mother-in-law he would take a different road and send a friend to greet her respectfully. We did not find avoidance carried to the length described by Hofmayr, who states that a man may not enter the village in which his mother-in-law dwells; one informant, however, told us that a man might not enter her village until the cows of the bride-wealth had been paid.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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of the shrine attendants as well as the village headmen. The priestesses of these shrines are probably chosen entirely for their efficiency, and we had full opportunity to note the excellent manners and forcible character of our friend Aker.

The clans Golobogu and Panuiti are closely associated with the upkeep of the Fenikang shrine, indeed the Golobogu clan, and probably to a lesser extent the Panuiti, act as caretakers of the shrine and when sexually pure can enter it freely. Children of these clans before the age of puberty and men in a state of chastity may enter the shrine, but if a man should do so after sleeping with a woman he would die. A married man whose wife is pregnant will in all probability be living chastely, and such men were seen entering the shrine without comment being made by the villagers. The chief (*jago*) of the local group of clan Golobogu always kills any beast that may be sacrificed at the shrine. Aker said that this man, one Ayuriel, had installed her in her duties as priestess of the shrine; it was, however, evident that Aker was of more importance than Ayuriel, though how much this may have been due to force of character could not be determined.

The different functions of the huts constituting the shrine further indicate that the pattern of the original shrine was a homestead and that the shrine itself is the homestead of Nyakang. The information we give concerning the huts composing the shrine—each having its own name—is in part the result of our inquiries at Fenikang in part additional information provided by Mr. Henry.

The names of the huts are: *Nyikayo*, Kwayo or Duwal, Wol Mac, Dag or Kwayo,[1] Duwol.

Nyikayo was the hut in which lived the mother of *Nyakang*; here millet was said to be stored.

Duwal was the name of the hut in Nyakang's homestead in which Nyakang used to sleep; whence the name Kwayo, the word used of royalty for "sleep" (other folk *nia*). This is the most sacred hut of the shrine, shown on Pl. VIII with the horns of sacrificed beasts in the ground before its door. In it are kept the former possessions of Nyakang, his stool—alleged to be of metal with "eyes", i.e. probably having its seat spotted as a leopard-skin—his drum, and his lyre (*dawo*) said to have a metal body. Besides these are eight

[1] The reason for two of the huts having the same name is that, as will be seen immediately, both were sleeping places. Alternative names are Fwolkang for Nyikayo and Wol Mac were Nagulo and Kajo respectively.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

Nhiŋ. Ke e kiiŋ kiɛc: Shilŋ, ɛɛŋ yɔn kiɛc! Ji ji wɔ kiji kwɔ! yɔ ɛɛŋ kj ɛɛ kjɔk. Ke gjiŋ yɔ: wɔɔ wɔɔ wɔɔ kiɛc. Ke ɲwɔ kɛjɛ, ka ɛbaŋ kjɔ kiiɛ ɛŋ. Ke gjɔ kɛjɛ, wɔkɛ tyɛɛ. Nikwɔ. Ke jɔl ɲɔ pjɛ, ka e kɛjɛ. Ke ɲwɔ ɛbaŋɛ, ɛɛŋ ɲwɔ kwɛ̀p. Ke ɛŋ e kjɛ kj lim ɛɛŋ, lim ɲwɔ, lim jiɛɛ. Ke tjɛɛ e kjɛ, ɛɛŋ kɛjɛ fiɛc ɲɛc, ɛɛŋ kɛjɛ fiɛc pjɛ

The chiefs are sent for; and the people (together with the chiefs) come, they assemble and talk about the matter. And the king is seized, and brought (back) into his own village. He is brought to a large place, and there he is (publicly) abetted outside the courtyards. They assemble in the court of Nyikang, the large court; and the people pray, they pray to God, and they pray to Nyikang too; during this time the king is held fast. When this (praying) is finished, water is sprinkled on his body by all people; he is brought into a yard and is washed by the wives of the king. After that his body is covered with clothes, with royal clothes, and a royal spear is given to him; then he goes up to his royal hut, he goes up into it, and stays there one year.[1] When the year is passed, the people (the chiefs) gather, and the people of Nyikang are sent for. They are brought from Akurwar, the village of Nyikang. They come and bring (the wooden statues of) Nyikang and (of) Dak, they are beautifully adorned, many ostrich feathers are tied to them. When they are brought, the people cry: "Nyikang has come!" Now cattle is brought, and a man is sought, they bring him, strip his clothes off him, and bind him. He is laid on the ground in the midst of the road. And all, all the people come, the king in their midst, and the people pass over the back of this man, they step over him. When that is done, the people of Nyikang come, and bring a whip, and the people run away; — the king catches hold[2] of a girl — they run[3] away because of the

[According to Hofmayr (*Anthropos* V, page 111) this girl is always taken from the clan of the Kwa-okil: "The Kwa-okil come from the Bahr al Ghazal; their ancestor was a relative of Nyikang; but a crime committed by one among them against the house of Nyikang, reduced the clan. They were declassed to ordinary Shilluks, and as a punishment for their crime they were sentenced to pay a girl to the king. This contribution has to be delivered whenever a new king is elected, but in course of time it has become an honour and a profitable business . . . This girl always stands at the king's side during the ceremonies of election. For this tribute the clan receives clothes, beads, bells, knives, and lamperns. A hole in the ground near Fashoda is filled with sheep; besides cows and oxen are driven into it, as many as may find place; these also belong to the relatives of the girl. This girl is now called aye kwar (i. e. child belonging to the authority. W.).

[1] cf.: "one day"?
[2] cf.: "to hold fast by"?
[3] cf. page 158, 2 n.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F123 Shilluk F123

There are several other clans which have the privilege of performing certain ceremonies in connection with the election of a king. One has the duty of feasting the king with a feather of the king of birds, another has to secure the dura sticks with which the party of the king defeats the party of the enemies.*]

people of Nyikang, but they be hunted by the people of Nyikang; for they (the latter) beat all people, and every one who is beaten, is put into a separate place and has to pay a fine to the people of Nyikang. All the people try to run into a house.

Now a cow is brought, the cow is speared, and the king is brought out. All the people come, all the chiefs, and they place the king outside the door of the great court; the people pray. The king is given these commandments: "Do not do any wicked things! Do not kill people! Govern the country of the chiefs in peace!" And the king rises, and all the people go down, they kneel on the earth, but the wives of the king kneel beside him. And he says: "Ye Shilluk people all, look at me! This is the country of my father and my grandfathers; you will live a peaceful life through me!" And all the people say: "Our father, our father!" A cow is brought, and is speared on account of the prosperity (for the good speed) of the king. And cattle are brought, and given to the people of Nyikang. And the man (who was hunted) is released, and goes home. Another cow is speared, which finishes the matter. And the king is covered with certain clothes, big clothes, royal clothes. Now the people scatter, each one goes to his own country.

17. How Clothes are secured for the Royal Court.

Ke tjeŋ bê bj dwiir bj bjɛ, bjɛ bwiir, gyjêk. Ke tjeŋ e bɛdɛ bjeŋ, gj gbɛ, bɛ jɔɔ e bwɔ̀: gɔɔw gjê gbjɛ, bwiiré gaté bwiir, bjɛ tyɛ̀k, bjɛ bwɔr rɛ̀j, ŋ dɛ tiiré ŋ bwɔ̀r, ŋ dwɛ̀ŋ rɛ̀j. E lɛŋ: gɔɔw gjê Nyikang, bjɛ ee gaté gê, wŋ bɛ gbjɛ bê bwɔ̀ŋ? E bɛ: ê, bwɔ̀r gbjɛ, wɔ̀ bjɛ bj dɛ̀ɛk, ŋ bjɛr bjɛ é gɔɔw; wɔ̀ɔ̀ dɛ̀ɛk, bɛ̀jɛ̀-dɛ̀ɛkiŋ? Ke dɛ̀ɛ̀ dɛ̀ɛ̀, bɛ dwɔ̀ŋ̀ɔ, bɛ gyjêŋ dɛ̀ɛ̀, bɛ dɛ̀ɛ̀, bɛ dwɔ̀r e bɛdɛ, bɛ tiiré dwɔ̀r bjɛ̀, bɛ gyjêk wɔ̀ɔ̀ gɛ gbɛ, bɛ tjeŋ tjɛŋ. bɛ jɔɔ e dwɔ̀ŋ, bɛ bjɛ̀ tyɛ̀k, bɛ gɛ rɛ̀wŋ̀ tjɛ̀ŋ. bɛ jɔɔw dwɔ̀ɔ̀, bɛ bjɛ̀ gɛ̀bɛ̀d, bɛ e bɛ: jɔ̀ɔ̀, bjɛ̀ wɔ̀ɔ̀, bɛ e bɛ jɔɔ dwɔ̀r: bjɛ̀ wɔ̀ɔ̀, ciiŋ. Ke gɛ ciiŋ. Ke gɛ rɛ̀wŋ̀ ciiŋ, bɛ gɛ bjɛ̀, bjɛ̀ bɛ tyɛ̀ɛ̀; bɛ jɔ̀ɔ̀ bɛ bjɛ̀ɛ̀: ɛ̀j? E bɛ: ê, dj wɛ bê bjɛ̀dj gɛ̀bɛ̀? Ke e bɛ̀ŋ̀ gbɛ̀ɛ̀, bɛ gbɛ̀ɛ̀ bjɛ̀, bɛ jɔɔ ciiŋ, bɛ gɛ bɛdɛ bɛ Bwɔ̀ɔ̀ŋ. Ke wŋ̀ dɛ̀ɛ̀k, bɛ bɛ: jɔɔ é bɛ. Kjɛɛ: ɛɛɛɛ, wŋ bɛ! W'e bjɛ̀ŋ ɛ̀ŋ? W'e bjɛ̀ŋ jɔwɔ̀ bwɔ̀ɔ̀. Kjɛɛ: gɛ bɛ̀ɔ̀? Kjɛɛ gyjêr ɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ŋ̀gɛ̀. E bɛ: dj̀ɔ̀ɔ̀! Ke wŋ̀ e bɛwŋ̀ wɛ̀ŋ̀ (rɛwŋ̀) dwɛ̀ɛ̀, bɛ wɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ jɔɔ, bɛ wɛ̀ɔ̀. Ke jɔɔ e wɛ̀ɔ̀, gɛ̀ ɛ̀bɛwŋ̀ bj̀ gbɛ̀ɛ̀. Ke gɛ dɛ̀ɛ̀k. Kjɛɛ: ɛɛɛɛ, bɛ wɔ̀ɔ̀ŋ̀? Kjɛɛ: ê, wɔ̀ɔ̀ŋ̀ jɔwɔ̀ɔ̀! Ke jɔɔ e bjɛ̀ŋ̀, bɛ wɛ̀ɔ̀ŋ̀ tyɛ̀ɛ̀, bɛ gɛ wɛ̀ɔ̀, gɛ̀ wɛ̀ɔ̀ŋ̀.

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The people go to cut boats, boats for the king; and the people cut them, and bring the boats, all the people come (with the boats), and when they approach the village, the *chief* is called; the boats are put before him for examination. He looks at them, and misses some, saying: "Take those boats!" They are taken, then he says: "Those belong to the king"; they are hewn (carved), are sewn together, and after that they row them to Fashoda.

29. Provinces of the Shilluk country beginning from south.

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1. *Thiej*	2. *Nyandij*	3. *Diej*
4. *Dyr*	5. *Nidhwäl*	6. *Wäle*
7. *Dyäl*	8. *Fiadhäle*	9. *Aryälär*
10. *Ayweyngä*	11. *Ajälyä*	12. *Fiäläle*
13. *Okipätwäjäly*	14. *Obwi-Dilyä*	15. *Ajälyäwä*
16. *Fiwiäbwäli*	17. *Owjäbi*	18. *Twäbrä*
19. *Awäle*	20. *Dwr*	21. *Adhäli*
22. *Dyr*	23. *Ajälyäle*	24. *Awärwjwäjä*
25. *Kwäjyä*	26. *Obwi*	27. *Mälälil*
28. *Fwwäjä*	29. *Oyäl*	30. *Wäle*
31. *Fiäle*	32. *Fiäjäe*	33. *Bäj*
34. *Nwäbrä*	35. *Bjil*	36. *Fiäle*
37. *Bäl*	38. *Ayhäj*	39. *Tjä*
40. *Lal*	41. *Kwäjw*	42. *Fiwiäbä*
43. *Aywäjrä*	44. *Nyäle*	45. *Gälläwj*
46. *Fiäjäle*	47. *Ljwy*	48. *Kiäjä*
49. *Ojäj*	50. *Kwäbäle*	51. *Ajäl*
52. *Tjäwjä*	53. *Bärälä*	54. *Mäl*
55. *Alwjäbä*	56. *Oyäe*	57. *Fiwiäbä-Ojäyä*
58. *Nälyäb*	59. *Awäjäwjä*	60. *Twä*
61. *Twwäj*	62. *Akwwwäle*	63. *Älwr*
64. *Mjwä*	65. *Mwjwä.*	

The Clans or Divisions of the Shilluk People.

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The Shilluks are divided into a number of clans or tribes, each of which is traced back to a common ancestor. In most cases this ancestor is a man, but some of the clans claim descendency from an animal.

The following names of the clans and all the remarks added here have been procured by *Reverend D. Oyler, of Dolobi Hill*, who collected them from an assembly of natives, and had them afterwards examined by some Shilluk men who

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●614 are known for being well versed in the history and traditions of their people.

The names are given in the succession in which the natives enumerated them. If there are two different traditions of a clan, the second is introduced by: "Dif."

The word Kwa means "descendant."

[Hofmayer in "Anthropos" enumerates 13 clans and gives some remarks on four of them.]

614 773 *1. Kwo-Ajal*, was founded by Jal, one of the men who came with Nyikang from his earlier home. They live at Nyolwak. They lay out the circle for building the house of Nyikang. — Dif.: the clan was founded by Milo, who named it after his son Jal. Milo waged war with the sun, and got a cow. When Nyikang saw it he was pleased and asked, where he got it. On learning it had been gained from the sun, he sent Milo back for more. The latter managed to steal several; but the sun became angry and burnt Milo and his people. Eventually a battle occurred, in which the sun succeeded in killing all the cattle except a pair of calves, which Milo saved by wrapping them in his cloth. He got them safely to earth.

2. Kwo Mal, was founded by a man and a woman who came down from above (*mal*). They left their children on earth and ascended again. — Dif.: they died on earth; their home is Malakal.

2a. Kwo Lak, was founded by two celestial beings, a man and his wife. It gets its name from the large wooden pestle that the Shilluks use in crushing their dura. They quarrelled over a lak; the man wanted to use it to stir the cow dung, at the same time the woman said she needed it for crushing dura. Neither would yield to the other. Seizing the lak they fought over it, so violent was their quarrel that they fell to earth. Nyikang captured them and told them to settle at Malakal. The woman taught the people to make beer. Later they escaped and returned to the skies. At the crowning of the king their descendants strike the people with whips of sheep skin. The lak over which they quarrelled, is now at Malakal. — Dif.: they died at Malakal; and this is the same division as No 2, and should not be counted as a separate division. —

[This last remark is no doubt right, as both *2* and *2a* are of the same "celestial" origin; moreover Hofmayer in "Anthropos" gives a description of the kwa Mal which is identical with that of our kwa Lak. W.]

3. Kwo Omon, was founded by a woman who was a wife of Nyikang. They do not appear to have a special function; live at Ogot. — Dif.: was founded by a man named Omon; they help to build the house of Nyikang. Omon was found by Nyikang in the Shilluk country.

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by *Nyikang* and became his servant. They help to build the house of *Nyikang* at Wau. They live at Ogut. — *Identical with 3?*

5. Kwa Ju, or Kwa Jok, was founded by *Ju*, a half-brother of *Nyikang* on his father's side. *Ju* built the house for Dak. The Kwa *Ju* build the three houses of Dak in Fiu on the White Nile. When they have finished building the house, an ox is killed by a half-brother of the king.

They live at Maiwan.

6. Kwa Nyadwai, was founded by *Nyadwai*, an ancient king of the Shilluks; he was the son of Tugo. They are found at *Apio* and *Adit-dwong*. They help to build the house of the king. — The son of *Nyadwai* was a servant of *Abudok*.

7. Kwa Gwar, was founded by *Gwar*, a servant of king Dokot. They build the houses of Dokot in three villages. They give the skins of Mrs. Gray's waterbuck to the king. Their village is Chat-Gwok.

8. Kwa Nyikang, was founded by *Nyikang*, a servant of king *Nyikang*. They help to build the house of *Nyikang*. Their village is Fakang (the village of Kang). — *Diff.*: it was founded by *Olam*, a servant of *Nyikang*. *Olam* was captured by *Nyikang* in the river, and brought out. *Nyikang* settled him in the country. *Olam* is said to have been a man of tremendous appetite.

9. Nuga, was founded by a hippo-hunter named *Nuga*. He was found near Dolodi Hill by king *Abudok*. The name *Nuga* means to walk in a stealthy manner. They help to build the house of *Abudok*. Their village is Twara.

10. Kwa Rej (or rij, i. e. king), was founded by *Nyikang*. They all go to the crowning of a king. Their village is Fiu.

11. Kwa Tuki, was founded by a person that *Nyikang* discovered by the river. They taught the Shilluks to build the *tuki* (hearth-stones). It is made of three small pillars of mud built in a triangular shape. On the *tuki* the cooking vessel is placed. Before the Shilluks were taught to build the *tuki*, they used to dig a little hole in the ground for the fire. The Kwa Tuki help to care for the cattle of *Nyikang*. They live at Dilligo.

12. Kwa Chowi, was founded by Chowi, who was found in the Shilluk country by *Nyikang*. They live in *Fiqu Nyikang*, and help to build the house of *Nyikang*. — *Diff.*: Chowi was found on his way here.

13. Kwa Jok Nyikang; he had a Dinka wife, her people founded this division. They live at *Ojoko*, and help to build the house of Dak. — *Diff.*: it was founded by a Dinka, who was the son of Gok, and came of his own free will.

14. Kwa Tugo, was founded by *Tugo*, a foreigner. They say he was an Arab. *Nyikang* married *Tugo's* sister, and her brother followed her.

15. Kwa Ayig, was founded by *Ayig*, a servant of *Nyikang*. He taught the [illegible]

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Shilluks how to prepare the mud for the tukl. They live at *Fuge* Nyikang, and help to build the house of Nyikang at *Fuge* Nyikang. — Diff.: Okelo was a Nuba, whose sister was married by Nyikang. Vide 11.

16. *Kwa Ogiti*, was founded by *Giti*, a servant of Nyikang. He came into this country. They live at Twara and tear down the old houses of Nyikang.

17. *Kwa Dak*, was founded by Dak, a servant of Nyikang. They cut the first durra stalks for the house of Nyikang; they live at Owiddi. — Diff.: Dak was the son of Nyikang; they build the house of Akodok.

18. *Kwa Odollo*, was founded by Odollo, a servant of Odak. They build the houses of Odak, and live at Malakal. — Diff.: Odollo was the son of Dak; they build the house of Odollo, and also the king's house.

19. *Kwa Nyidjo*, was founded by Nyikang's blacksmith (*Nyidjo*). He furnishes the canoe for skilled workmen. They live at Nyidwok, and help to build the house of Nyikang at *Fuge* Nyikang. Each year they give the king dried kippe meat.

20. *Kwa Ginya*, was founded by a man who once cut near Nyikang like a hunter watching for meat. They live at Nyidwal and help to build the house of Nyikang.

21. *Kwa Ofiyo*, was founded by Ofiyo, a servant of Nyikang that had come with him. When they arrived at the Nile, the current was blocked up with mud, so that they could not find a crossing. Then Ofiyo told Nyikang to kill him. He was consequently thrust with a spear. When his blood touched the mud, it parted, and a clear passage was furnished for Nyikang and his party. Ofiyo's self-sacrifice took place "at the end of the earth." They live in *Fuge* Nyikang, and help to build the house of Nyikang. Vide 51.

22. *Kwa Ogalo*, was founded by Ogak, a servant of Nyikang. They got their name from the fact that they were the hunters of the second cow that Nyikang got from the river. They are found at Wau.

23. *Kwa Nyumul* ("the crawlers"), used to be a part of No. 10, but Nyikang became angry with them and said they could no longer belong to the Kwa Rut. They help to build the house of Nyikang and furnish kippe meat to the king. — Diff.: It was founded by Uwal, who was a member of No. 17. The division was effected peaceably, because the Kwa Dak had become too large for convenience. They help to build the house of Chol. Their residence is at Tonga.

24. *Kwa Okf*, was founded by people that Nyikang found in the Shilluk country. They first dug in the ground. They help to buildthe house of Nyikang. In case a king is deposed, the chief of this division gives one of his daughters to the king. — Remark. This division seems to be the same as Hofmayer's

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Kwa Okal, of whom he says, "They have come from the Bahr Ghazal; their ancestor was a relative of Nyikang. But a crime which they committed became the cause of their clan being decimated. They became common Shilluks, and as a punishment for their crime they had to pay a girl to the king. This tribute is requested at each new election. The girl is called nya *Kwer* (i. e. girl of the authorities, girl of incest). Vide also 13.

27. *Kwa Ligiŋ*, or *Ochil*, was founded by Ochu, the son of Lelwa, a servant of Abudok, who was found in the Shilluk country. They help to build the house of Abudok, their residence is in Owichil. — *Diff.* It was founded by Okwin, the husband of Lelwa; they were the parents of Ochu; servants of Nyikang.

28. *Kwa Bilin (Bilig?)*, was founded by foreigners who have come in. To become a member in good standing it was necessary for the member of each family to give a daughter to the king. The ancestors of the division were strangers who married Shilluk women and took up residence in the Shilluk country. They are found at Nyigir.

29. *Kwa Ochuŋ*; are the same as 23 (?) Are found at Tonj.

30. *Kwa Dyiŋ*, was founded by *Dyiŋ*, a servant of Dak; they were found in the fishat region by Nyikang. According to some they are the descendants of Dokurt. They build the house of Dak. Their residence is at Gur.

31. *Kwa Nimpiŋ*, was founded by *Nimpiŋ*, who was found here by Nyikang, who married his daughter. They live in Gur.

32. *Kwa Owyo*, was founded by a man who tried to deceive Nyikang. The name Owyo means deceiver. They are servants of Nyikang, and help in building his house. Nyikang brought them from a distance; they live in *Fiqe Nyikang*.

33. *Kwa Ociŋ*, was founded by *Ociŋ*, whom Nyikang found in the Shilluk country. They help to build the houses of Nyikang and Dak. Their residence is in Nigo and Wako.

34. *Kwa Wiu*, was founded by a man who tried to hide all the fish of a certain kind (*odwoc*) from Nyikang. When Nyikang asked for them, he said there were none; but his treachery was found out. If any of this division eat of this kind of fish, he will die. They are found at Tonga and furnish fish and other water animals to the king. They also help in building the house of Nyikang.

35. *Kwa Nakino*, was founded by a man that Nyikang found near Tonga. They live at Tonga, and help to build the house of Nyikang.

36. *Kwa Nai*, was founded by Nai, a servant of Dak. They help to build the house of Dak that used to be on the mission ground at Duluth Hill. They are found at Ghai and Akiŋep.

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33. *Kwe Dwai*, was founded by Dwai, a servant of Dak. They help to build the house of Dak and are found at *Fuga* Nyikang. — Diff.: Dwai was a servant of Nyikang. He was a Nuba, who came into the country and was taken by Nyikang.

[This last remark is probably right, as the Nubians are generally addressed: Nya Dwai.]

34. *Kwe Ajiddy*, was founded by *Ajiddy*, a servant of Nyikang. He was a foreigner that Nyikang found here. They live in Okowa, and help to build the house of Nyikang. — Diff.: they build the house of Odiello in Dimmo.

35. *Kwe Nyimet*, was founded by a Dinka who came into the Shilluk country. They live at Obai, and build the house of Dak.

36. *Kwe Nikkyy*, was founded by *Nikkyy*, a servant of Nyikang. Nyikang found him in this country. They build the house of Nyikang; their residence is at Dilligo.

39. *Kwe Dwi*, was founded by *Adwi*, a Dinka, who was a servant of Abudok. They are found at Owichi. — Diff.: he was a servant of Nyikang.

40. *Kwe Okwai*, was founded by Okwai, an ancient fisherman found in this country by Nyikang. They live at Adodo and build the house of Nyikang. — Diff.: he was a Dinka, and was found by Dowat.

41. *Kwe Jolo*, was founded by *Jolo*, a servant of Odak. They live at Adidaang, and build the house of Odak. — Diff.: he was a son of Dowat.

42. *Kwe Ogwat*, was founded by Ogwat, a servant of Odak. They build the house of Odak. Tunga is their home.

43. *Kwe Owai*, was founded by Owai, a servant of Odak. They build the house of Odak; their residence is at Malakal. — Diff.: They are the same as No. 2, and should not be counted as a separate division.*

44. *Kwe Wai*, was founded by Wai, who crowned Nyikang. Wang was found in the Shilluk country. They live at Okon and Dur; they have a part in the crowning of the king.

45. *Kwe Ojiny* was founded by Ojiny, a servant of Nyikang, who was found in the country by the latter. They live at Kakwyn, and help to build the house of Nyikang. — Diff.: They build the house of Dak.

46. *Kwe Dwojt*, was founded by Dowat, a servant of Dak. They are the chief of the servants of Dak; they live at Pilo.

47. *Kwe Ki*, was founded by Oki, a servant of Nyikang. Nyikang found him on the bank of the river in the Shilluk country. They build the house at [illegible]

48. *Kwe Tijily*, was founded by *Gijily*, a servant of Nyikang, found in the Shilluk country. They help to build the house of Nyikang. Their home is in

* They may, however, be a subdivision of 2, as their name "Kwomdho of Dak"

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Fiyo Nyikang. — Diff.: Nyikang brought Oyodo from a distance.

46 *Kwo Okiyi*, was founded by *Okiyo*, a servant of Nyikang. He was brought from the Nuba country. They help to build the house of Nyikang. Their residence is at Dotwuk. — Diff.: he was found in the Shilluk country.

51 *Kwo Mit*, was founded by *Omiti*, a Nuer servant of Nyikang. They live at Ak-dwang.

53 *Kwo Okjo*, was founded by *Okjo*, a servant of Nyikang. He was found in the Shilluk country. He ate the meat cleaned off the skin of Nyikang's cattle. They live at Nyalwal. — Diff.: Oben was brought here by Nyikang.

52 *Kwo Chowi* ("soup"),[1] was founded by Chwai, a servant of Nyikang, who was found here. Their functions are the same as the preceding, except that when an ox of Nyikang is killed, they get the soup. They live at Nyalwal.

53 *Kwo Rido*, ("meat"), was founded by *Rido*, a servant of Nyikang, who was found in the Shilluk country. At the killing of an ox of Nyikang they get the meat.

54 *Kwo Fyop* ("skin"), was founded by *Ofyop*, a servant of Nyikang found in the Shilluk country. They get the skin of Nyikang's cattle. They live at Nyalwal.

55 *Kwo Wich* ("head"), was founded by *Owich*, a servant of Nyikang found in the Jiet-country (Kordofan). They get the head of Nyikang's cattle. Their homes at Nyalwal. — Diff.: *Wich* was a Dinka.

56 *Kwo Shio*, ("intestines"), was founded by *Shio*, a servant of Nyikang. They get the intestines of Nyikang's cattle; live at Nyalwal.

57 *Kwo Nyigiq*, was founded by *Ogi*, a Nuer servant of Nyikang. They help to build the house of Nyikang. Their residence is Tonga.

58 *Kwo Nyigah*, was founded by *Ogah*, a servant of Dak. They help in building the house of Nyikang. Their home is Dur and Obai.

59 *Kwo Ayidi*, was founded by *Ayidi*, a servant of Dak. They make a preparation of bean leaves and give it to the king, who puts it on his body. They are found at Dur. — Diff.: he was a servant of Nyikang, they help to build the house of Nyikang at Malakal.

60 *Kwo Anit*, was founded by *Anit*, a servant of Nyikang found in the Shilluk country. They taught the Shilluks to make fire by friction. At the crowning of the king they make fire. They are found at Fetco.

61 *Kwo Nyarij*, are descendants of Nyikang. They are the royal clans. The king chooses from among them. Their village is Yoyio. Vide 70.

62 *Kwo Dak*, was founded by *Odak*, a Nuba, who came into the country. He was a servant of Nyikang. They help to build the house of Nyikang. Their village is near Tonga.

[1] Clans and some of the following as well as of the preceding names are apparently not really names of ancestors.

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63. Kwo Odẹ̀ẹ̀, was founded by *Odẹ̀*, a servant of Abudok. They help to build the house of Abudok. Their village is Twara. He came into the country.

64. Kwo Wẽ̀ŋ, was founded by *Wẽ̀ŋ*, a servant of Nyikang. He was a brave man, who was never afraid. When the cows of Nyikang got into his dura, he watched them, and killed one cow. Nyikang told him that something bad would happen to him. As a result his village was attacked by the Nuers, and a large part of his descendants were killed; so it is a small division now. Wubo was very skilful in the use of weapons. — They do not rub ashes on their faces and bodies. They help to build the house of Nyikang. They live at Ajwogo.

65. Kwo Nĩ̀ĩ̀, was founded by Kir, a servant of Nyikang. He was found at a distance. At the death of the king they beat the drum. They live in Gur. — Dif. he was found in the river by Nyikang.

66. Kwo Yĩ̀, was founded by *Yĩ̀*, a servant of Odak. They help to build the house of Odak. Their village is Otwo. — Dif.: he was a servant of Nyikang; they help to build the house of Ochollo.

67. Kwo Gwo, was founded by *Ogwo*, a servant of Odak. He was from the Anywak country. They help to build the house of Odak. Their residence is at Tonga.

68. Kwo Mwol, was founded by Mwol, a servant of Nyikang. He crawled away from battle. They do not eat of the flesh on the knee-joint. They help to build the house of Nyikang. Their home is at Ogot. Vide *53*.

69. Kwo Kwo, was founded by Kwo, a servant of Nyikang. He was a fish which Nyikang caught and changed into a man. They are found in *Fiqe* Dwai. — Dif.: he was brought in by Dak, and was his servant.

70. Kwo Obaji, was founded by *Obaji*, a son of Dakot. They help to build the house of Dak. Their home is at *Fiqe* Dwai. — Dif.: he was of Anhio descent. When a king is crowned, and the king starts to Tonga, they sweep the beginning of the road with a hoe.

71. Kwo Bol, was founded by Bol, a servant of Nyikang. He was an Anywak. They are at Mainam. They help to build the house of Nyikang. — Bol once fought against Mol.

72. Kwo Nyĩ̀ĩ̀, was founded by *Oyĩ̀ĩ̀*, a servant of Nyikang. At the crowning they ring the bells.

73. Kwo Nayĩ̀ĩ̀, was founded by *Oyĩ̀ĩ̀*, a servant of Nyikang. At the crowning they ring the bells. They live at Fashoda.

74. Kwo Nyiggo, was founded by *Oggo*, a servant of Nyikang. He was sent on an errand by Nyikang and forgot; then he got his name. They are found in *Fakwi*; they help to build the house of Nyikang in *Fakwi*.

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a great white cow, who came up out of the Nile and was called Deung Adok *(deng adak)*. The white cow gave birth to a man-child whom she nursed and named Kola *(Kola)*; Kola begat Umak Ba or Omaro *(Omorg)*, who begat Makwa or Wad Maul *(wat mal)*, who begat Ukwa (Okwa). These people lived in a far-off country, nobody knows where.

Ukwa was one day sitting near the river when he saw two lovely maidens with long hair rise out of the river and play about in the shallows. He saw them many times after that, but they would have nothing to do with him and merely laughed at him. It should be mentioned that their lower extremities were like those of a crocodile.

One day Ukwa found them sitting on the banks, so he came up behind and seized them. Their screams brought their father, Ud Dilil, out of the river, to see what was the matter. Ud Dilil, whose right side was green in colour and in form like a crocodile, whilst his left side was that of a man, protested mildly, but allowed Ukwa to take away his daughters and wed them, merely giving vent to a series of incorrect prophecies regarding them.

Nik-Kieya *(Nyakar)*, the elder sister, gave birth to two sons and three daughters, and Ung-wad, the younger, to one son only, named Ju, or Bworo. The eldest son of Nik-Kieya, was called Nyakang (Nik-kang or Nyakam, = *Nyikang*) and inherited the pleasing crocodilian attributes of his mother and grandfather. Meanwhile Ukwa married a third wife, whose eldest child, a son, was named Duwat.

On Ukwa's death there was a furious quarrel between Nyakang and Duwat as to who should succeed Ukwa. It ended by Nyakang, with his sisters Ad Dui, Ari Umker, and Bun Yang, his brother Umoi and his half-brother Ju, acquiring wings and flying away to the south of the Sobat. Here they found the Shilluk country inhabited by wicked Arabs, so they drove them out and founded a most successful Kingdom. According to their genealogy this would have been about 1200 A. D., or later.

Nyakang had a creative power which he used greatly to the advantage of the Kingdom. In order to people the vast territory more quickly, he proceeded to create a people from the animal life he found in the forests and rivers. From crocodiles, hippopotami, and from wild beasts and cattle, he created men and women. When these had brought forth many children, the parent stock was removed by death, so that the children might not know of their origin.

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The new creation and their offspring form the Shilluk race or common people, in distinction from the direct descendants of Nyakang's family.

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The latter continue to bear authority and fill the priestly function to this day. All outside the royal and priestly line are accounted Shullas.
Nik-Kieya still exists. She never died and never will. The western part of the Sobat and part of the White Nile is her favourite abode. She often appears, usually in the form of a crocodile, but at times in different forms and always in the river or on its banks. No sacrifices are ever offered to her. When she wishes, she takes what is required from among men and beasts; and when it is so, the people must not complain; indeed, it is an honour when Nik-Kieya is pleased to take her sacrifice of man or beast from a family.]

The Origin of the Shullas[1].

By Dr. T. Lambie, of Doleib Hill.

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Nyikang, Duwad, Ju, Okil, Otin, and Moi were the sons of Okwa. Okwa was the son of Omara from heaven. Nyikang's mother was Nyikaya, Okwa's other wife was Ungwet. Nyikang and Duwad were twins, they lived far away to the south. Okwa was lost and his village was deserted, so the people asked, "Whom shall we elect king?" Part of the people said, "We will elect Nyikang," others said, "We will elect Duwad," so it came to pass there was war and the people were divided. Nyikang came and turned aside to the country of the Dim, and there he married the mother of Dak, and Dak was born. Dak was wicked and killed some people of the Dim, and the Dim said, "Booh! all the people are being killed!" So they agreed to kill him, saying, we will kill Dak. Another man, called Obogi, kept silence there at the council when they spoke, and when the people asked him, "Did you not understand our talk?" he said, "Ah!" like a deaf and dumb person. And they struck him and said, "This fellow dit not hear." Then Obogi went to Nyikang and told him about the plot. Nyikang replied, "Ah! very well, we shall see." So the father came and brought a wooden figure and put it up. And his son Dak played on the tom (stringed instrument), and when he had finished playing, he took off his bracelet and put it on the image in his house, and the Dim people came to his house and speared the figure. And when they thought they had finished killing it, they said, "He is dead, good!" They went away, and all the people came and began to lament saying, "Dak is dead." They killed a dog, and when they had finished, Dak came, while the people were dancing his funeral dance. Dak came in and saw them. And Nyikang said, "We will separate from you, we go to look for corn." So they came and stopped here in the home of the Shullas.

[1] i. e. Shilluks.

NORTHERN PROVINCE (GERR)

Hamma Dolalajak Athadwai Detwak Golbany Fashoda

SOUTHERN PROVINCE (LUAK)

Wau Malakal Detim Panyikang Tung

These have little political importance though they are said to have been made by the order of Nyikang. They have the tradition of co-operation when necessary to meet a common danger or a difficult situation. This tendency of contiguous settlements to combine for warfare was utilised by the Turkish government and is now used by the Anglo-Egyptian government to form administrative units. Originally, the associations were not permanent enough to be regarded as politically important.

The Provinces

Shilluk country is divided into two great provinces, Gerr and Luak (Northern Shillukland and Southern Shillukland), which are ritually important but have little administrative significance. The boundary dividing the two provinces is a water-course called Khor Arepejur, just south of Fashoda. The chief of Debaio Kwom, just south of Arepejur, is, through his office, the chief of Luak. The chief of the settlement of Golbon, north of Khor Arepejur, is chief of Gerr.

Apart from these, only two other chiefs and divisions counted. These were the chiefs of the settlements forming the northernmost and southernmost regions of Shillukland, the chiefs of Hamma and Tonga.(1) Fashoda, the capital of Shillukland, occupied by the *reth*, is the focal point of the structure of the Shilluk people and this is clearly seen, not only in administrative matters but in ritual and myth and in the circumstances surrounding the installation of the *reth*.

SOCIAL DIVISIONS

The Shilluk people are divided into four main classes or groups of clans:

The Ewereth

This is the royal clan, the largest of all clans and, like the others, is spread through all parts of the country. All members trace their descent, *in the male line, from Nyikang and only a member of the royal clan* and one whose father has been a *reth* is eligible for election to the kingship. Within the Ewereth are four main titles.

(a) *Reth* - The reigning king.
(b) *Nyireth* - The son or daughter of a *reth* - whether reigning or dead.

(1) See Seligman, *The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk*, 1948, p.6.

(c) *Nyareth* - The son of a *Nyireth*. 565
(d) *Ennyireth* - The grandson of a *Nyireth*. 614

In some regions the members of the royal clan have become more numerous than commoners and have supplanted them in the chieftainship of the settlements. This has been possible because the members of the royal clan are richer and tend to marry more wives, and also because of the system whereby the offspring of a *reth* are planted out in various settlements away from Fashoda. When one of the *reth*'s wives is about to give birth to a child she leaves Fashoda and goes to her own village. As soon as the *nyireth* is weaned he is placed in charge of some trustworthy settlement chief, often the mother's brother, and is brought up among his mother's people. When the child grows up and marries he builds a separate hamlet called *po nyireth* (unless he is called in to become *reth*), and thus becomes the founder of a local lineage branch of the royal clan which may eventually grow powerful enough to overthrow the dominant lineage and assume the political aspects of its position in the settlement. 644 614 591 565

Daughters of a *reth* are not allowed to marry and therefore cannot start lineages which would count as sister's sons to the royal house. 644 582

The *Ororo*

This clan is separate from the royal clan and consists of the descendants of a disinherited branch. They are few in number and may intermarry with the royal clan. It is said that the *reth* still has the right to disinherit lineages of the royal clan but, apart from one traditional instance, it is not certain whether the right has been exercised. The *ororo* are indistinguishable from the commoner clans except for the special functions they perform for the *reth* at his investiture and at the time of his funeral. Traditionally, the *ororo* always smother the *reth* when he is ritually killed. The *reth* always takes some of his wives from the *ororo*. 565 614 643

The *Bong Reth*

The *bong reth* are the personal attendants of the *reth*. Originally they were captives from other tribes but later, volunteers from the commoner clans in Shillukland, if they were poverty stricken, might leave their own clans and become the *reth*'s retainers. In return for receiving cattle to marry with, they tended animals, engaged in building and cultivation and performed all the duties connected with the upkeep of the royal household. Apart from these and their descendants, the *bong reth* also included all those who were enslaved because their brothers were homicides and those who became possessed by the spirit of Nyikang. 565 644 727 792 569 674

The *bong reth* are a fictitious clan; they cannot intermarry even though there is often no blood relationship among them. The *reth* never marries into the *bong reth* clan and, as an indication of the impossibility of this, he calls the daughter of a retainer *kwaro*, 'my grand-daughter'. 565 644 809 644

The *bong reth* live in a hamlet of their own near the capital in which the *reth* resides. When he dies they, together with his elderly widows, go and live near his shrine and look after it. When a *nyireth* is planted out, his father sends some of his retainers to live with him; these become *bong* 565 644 614

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nyireth and their descendants continue to live near those of the *nyireth* as a fictitious lineage.

The Cols

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The *cols* consists of the main body of Shilluk clans, of which there are about a hundred. They are patrilineal clans tracing descent from the original followers of Nyikang, and also from those who have since migrated into and settled in Shillukland or were in occupation when the Shilluk immigrants arrived under Nyikang's leadership. Their origins are obscured in myth.

The *cols* clans like the *bweroth* are patrilineal and exogamous and marriage occurs between them. The difference is that the *bweroth*, through their connection with the founder of the present Shilluk regime and their ritual importance to the people as a whole, are treated with special respect and have special privileges.

CENTRAL AND LOCAL ORGANISATION

The Reth

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The Shilluk people recognise one supreme head, the *reth*, who represents the country as a whole, regardless of territorial, social or kinship divisions. According to Shilluk tradition the present *reth* is thirty-first of the royal line which began with Nyikang, who led the Shilluk into their territory, conquered it, and established the social order. The spirit of Nyikang is thought to reside in every *reth* and to be passed from one to another down the line of his successors.(1)

The Settlement Chief

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The settlement chief is traditionally directly responsible to the *reth* and executes his orders. He has certain religious obligations to the *reth*, such as building a house at Fashoda or maintaining the local shrine of Nyikang. The chief settles disputes in his territory, endeavours to keep order and harmony and to lead in community matters. He is selected by the lineage heads of the settlement and not by the *reth* who merely recognises his authority and position by investing him with the *lau*, personally handing this robe over the *jago's* shoulder.

The Headman of the Hamlet

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The *col dwong pur* has a status which varies according to whether he is headman of the principal hamlet of a lineage - in which case he is also a representative of his lineage within the settlement - or whether he is the headman of a subsidiary hamlet, in which case he is hamlet headman only and merely the senior member of a group of homesteads. The headman of a principal hamlet often receives a *lau*, sometimes directly from the *reth*, in other cases from the settlement chief. This, however, is only in confirmation and recognition of his status and there is no question of appointment by the *reth* or the *jago*. The headman of a principal hamlet represents

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk*, 1948, p.9.

attempts to usurp the throne any time after killing the reth. The reth's sons and the sons of previous reths are potential rivals and are not allowed within Fashoda at night. The reth takes precautions to avoid this danger. It is not known in which hut he sleeps and he is said to wander round at night looking for intruders. This practice of nightly no doubt accounts for the planting out of the reth's sons from the time of their birth.

The Death of a Reth

The reth is considered to have some mystic connection with the world of nature, and the state of his health has an effect on the fertility of the land, on the rains, the harvests and on the general material and spiritual welfare of the people. If the reth becomes weak, the people suffer and he must be killed. If he were allowed to die naturally the spirit of Nyikang might be lost to the Shilluk for ever. There are a number of traditions relating to the traditional mode of death suffered by the reth. One maintains that the reth is strangled or suffocated by his wives if he shows signs of senility; another that he was rolled up alive in a hut. The reth may be killed by a rival claimant to the throne at any time. Evans-Pritchard considers that the ceremonial putting to death of kings is probably a fiction; there is no historical evidence for it and some Shilluk kings seem to have reigned until they were quite old. Both Howell and Evans-Pritchard consider that there is a close connection between the tradition of killing the king, because of the bad effects of his waning vitality, and the tradition that a rival claimant should seize the throne "..... we must interpret Shilluk statements about the matter as indicating not that any prince may slay the king on his own initiative, as has been suggested, but that any prince may lead a rebellion as the candidate of discontents, particularly of the part of the kingdom to which the prince belongs. If the king has lost support in the part to which he belongs he will probably lose also both the resulting contest and his life in it."(1) If this is so, the traditions of king-killing are perhaps an interpretation, couched in symbolic terms, of the actual course of events following a rebellion against the reth.

ELECTION AND INSTALLATION OF THE RETH

Detailed descriptions of the installation of a new reth have been given - apart from information by Murdock - by Howell and Thomson who were in Shillukland at the election of King Fadiet in 1943 and of his successor, King Kwai in 1944. In the events described by them the political, ritual and symbolic nature of the reth and the importance of the Nyikang myths may be clearly seen. In addition, the relationships between the various social divisions and between the territorial and kinship segments may be perceived in action. The whole tribe participates in some degree, for a series of ceremonies is carried out by the clans, in which each has a special traditional role to play.

The interregnum is a period of danger, owing to the war which may break out over the choice of a successor and owing to the absence of the

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk*, 1948, pp.30-5.

from the fact that the reps, elders of the dyil clan, and other lineage representatives, hold political authority quite apart from the age organization. The age sets take no part in disputes within the settlement, but when the settlement as a whole goes to war the warriors "... are mobilized into age sets."(1) Howell suggests that formerly the age organization had special military functions, but whether this was so or not, the age sets seem to fulfil a more powerful purpose today, and form a useful basis for organizing the relations of generations for social purposes.

The Ngol Ceremony

At the ngol ceremony a war leader (kwa) is elected. The kwa has no administrative or political functions. His duties consist in organizing the mobilization of the warriors and presiding at communal feasts at which people assemble in age sets. His age mates may assist him in his initiations. After the ngol ceremony each age set is given a new name.

Initiation

There are no elaborate rites of initiation among the Shilluk. Participation in a dance, the ceng kol marks the initiation of a youth in the age organization. The ceng kol is a social affair which is arranged periodically with the permission of the reps of the settlement. It is not a ceremony of initiation in the normal sense but merely a formal recognition by the community that a kol has reached adult status and can take part in a man's obligations and privileges. Previous to the ceng kol a youth is restricted in that he may not fight with spears, take part in war or in any dance other than one held for children. Before the ceng kol he is not allowed to wear certain kinds of ornaments.

The ceng kol is attended by a boy when he is 14-16 years old, or earlier if he has to take over the duties of family head through the death of his father. A youth normally obtains his father's permission and another man is appointed to act as his sponsor. The sponsor ceremonially adorns the youth with ornaments before he enters the dance. At the beginning of the dance the warriors salute the reps, advance in formation and fling themselves before him.

At the time of the ceng kol the initiand is usually presented with two spears by his father. Both men give their name to an ox and they take their co-names from these animals. An ox is given to keye until it dies and then a new one of the same colour is substituted. After the ceng kol the initiands visit relatives and travel round the countryside for a few months.

CLANS AND LINEAGES

There are about a hundred patrilineal clans in Shilluk-land. Each clan has a name which is preceded by the word kwe, meaning "descendants of". All clansmen trace their descent from a common ancestor. They are bound by distinct rules of behaviour, by special observances and are exogamous.(2)

The Shilluk clans, like all Nilotic clans, are dispersed, each clan

(1) Howell, S.S.A. 1951, Vol.XXIX, p.35. (2) *Ibid.*, p.47.

having a given number of local branches, or lineages, spread throughout Shillukland, and there are no periodic reunions.

Members of a lineage are bound one only by kinship ties but also by ties arising through occupation of the same territory. The lineage is an effective political and social unit. A person generally thinks in terms of his localized lineage and refers most often to the number of his lineage in the district occupied. In relation to members of lineages of other clans, however, reference is most likely to be made to the founding ancestor of a person's clan. As previously mentioned, the occupants of a settlement belong to a collection of independent lineages which gradually themselves into the genealogical structure of the dominant lineage through marriage with its female members.

INHERITANCE

Only the smallest lineage unit is of any importance in the inheritance of property. Pumphrey states that there are no definite rules for the inheritance of chattels.[1] If disinclination has not been made before death they are usually taken by the eldest son, or by the next of kin where there are no sons. Cattle are taken by the succeeding gol bwoko, either a married son or a married brother. He cannot do exactly as he likes with them for he inherits certain traditional obligations. He has the moral obligation to use his herds for providing bridewealth to enable the male members of the gol to marry, in order of seniority, and it is considered wrong for a gol bwoko to marry a second cow himself while there are men of his gol still unmarried and requiring cattle. The gol bwoko is also responsible for paying compensation in cattle for any wrong which has been committed by one of his household. Usually, it is recognized that no cattle of the family herds should be sold except in cases of famine and to purchase grain. Pumphrey states that a breach of these rules of inheritance would probably not be interfered with by the courts.[2]

Uncultivated land belongs to anyone who settles on it.

MARRIAGE

The Shilluk are polygynous. A wealthy and influential man has three or four wives, while members of the kwareh may have several more. Marriage is forbidden with any member of one's father's clan and between all persons in respect of whom relationship, either through the father or mother, could be traced directly. Apart from these obstacles it appears that freedom of choice is generally allowed to both sexes in matrimonial matters.

Bridewealth

Bridewealth consists of two head of cattle and sheep and spears. In addition the suitor makes small gifts and performs services to win the favour of his future father- and mother-in-law. Bridewealth discussions and arrangements proceed between representatives appointed by the suitor's gol and by the girl's gol.

[1] Pumphrey, S.F.N. (ms), Vol.XXIV, p.5b.
[2] Ibid., p.6b.

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Linguistically, the Shilluk belong to the Luo-speaking people, amongst whom are also the Anuak of the Baro and Pibor rivers between the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and Ethiopia, the Lango and Acholi of Uganda, the Alur of Uganda and the Belgian Congo, and many scattered groups in the Bahr-el-Ghazal Province of the Sudan, of whom the Luo (Jur) are the most important. Some of these claim some slight contact, in comparatively recent times, with the Shilluk kingdom. Amongst the Luo-speakers the Shilluk are unique in their possession of a single royal dynasty, in relation to which all are members of one Shilluk kingdom, with well-defined territorial and social limits. By this also they are chiefly set apart from the other Nilotic negroes, the Nuer and Dinka, with whom they otherwise have much in common in physique, character, and culture. Perhaps more than the other Nilotes, the Shilluk have for long been in intermittently hostile contact with foreign invaders and foreign governments. The traveller Schweinfurth, who visited them in 1869, says that at that time little or nothing remained of the original condition of the Shilluk, who of all Nilotic negroes 'used to uphold the most perfectly regulated government', which, he says, can only be properly appreciated by reference to the registers of the expedition of Mohammed Ali earlier in the century.[1] We cannot now know what the Shilluk were really like at that time, and it is certain that some of their indigenous custom, particularly that concerning the election and deposal of the Shilluk king, has been interfered with to such an extent that the Shilluk themselves are uncertain about some details of the old belief and practice. Nevertheless, until the present day the Shilluk have retained a consciousness of their national identity and integrity, and have been slow to modify their ideas to accord with those of the various strangers in their land. The main features of their social structure remain, and under the present government, versions of their ceremonies for the funeral and installation of the king have been carefully observed and described.[2] Enough of the traditional practice and belief remains, and has been recorded, to make unnecessary too much speculative reconstruction of the Shilluk past; unfortunately the absence of historical records makes it impossible to study the development of the kingship, which might exhibit more apparent anomalies in accounts of the present situation.

Social Organization

The Shilluk are divided, on the basis of descent traced in the male line, into about ten different descent groups, which have been called both clans and lineages. They are exogamous, and some of them, at least, are totemically affiliated with natural or artificial species of various kinds. Members of these descent groups may be found living in any part of Shilluk country, and the main groups are themselves dispersed in smaller groups throughout Shilluk country. The largest descent groups are without any corporate

[1] G. Schweinfurth, *[illegible]*, p. 57.
[2] [illegible], 1908, and Howell and Thomson, 1946.

8:Howell E-4.5 (1937, 1948) 1951 F323 Shilluk F323

in the courts are of a kind which in the past were mere matters of convention and usage and could not be defined in law even in the most extended definition of that term. The tendency is for the more intimate personal relationships to be governed by legal processes. This is a feature of the Nilotic world under the influence of modern administration which, while present among the Shilluk, is even more marked among Nuer and Dinka. There is a danger in this, because intervention in almost every sphere of human activity may tend to inhibit the normal readjustments which might otherwise naturally emerge to meet changing conditions. It is therefore all the more necessary to record something of present practice for comparison in later years.

The vast majority of cases which appear before the courts concern kinship obligations, marital relationships and the violation of rights in women. This article is therefore largely a description of the normal processes of marriage: the payment and distribution of bridewealth, divorce, and the infringement of legal rights in women. It is also in the nature of a commentary on previous articles published by Mr. H. E. C. Pumphrey and myself[1] on the subject of kinship and social organization among the Shilluk. From time to time reference is made to Nuer and Dinka institutions by way of comparison.[2] A few examples of actual disputes as heard and recorded in the Shilluk Courts are given in the text.

Shilluk Social Structure

Shilluk society is divided into "provinces", "divisions" (*lak*), and "settlements" (*pedh*). There are territorial and political segments, but it is really only the settlement which has any permanent political significance. Each settlement has a customary territory, the boundaries of which run at approximately right angles to the river. Such territory includes a section of the highland ridge which runs roughly parallel to the Nile and on which the permanent dwelling-houses and cattle-byres are built; a section of the river front (*mir*) which provides grass grazing for the cattle when the river drops, and finally a more extensive section of the hinterland (*pwol*) which is subjected to varying degrees of rain-flooding during the wet season but is dry and waterless for the rest of the year. Each type of land is essential for pastoral and agricultural activities according to the season, and the territorial organization of Shilluk country could not be arranged otherwise.

A settlement is an economic, political, and social unit, but is not a kinship unit since it contains representative lineages of several of the many Shilluk clans. Within the settlement there is, however, a tendency—not always effective for purely topographical reasons—for each lineage to occupy its own "village". Each village (*par*) is made up of a number of "hamlets" (*dano par*: pl. *wpar*) which comprise several domestic units (*got*), each such unit consisting of a group of dwelling-huts (*ar*) occupied by a man, his wives, and children. The village is therefore also a kinship unit and, as a general rule, the closer the territorial proximity, the closer the kinship relationship. Clans (described by giving the name of the founder with the suffix *kwa*, meaning "descendants of") are patrilineal descent groups which are theoretically exogamous, though separation in space, coupled with considerable distance of relationship within the kinship structure, may allow modifications of this rule. The

[1] Under Notes and Records, vol. xxiv, 1941.

[2] The reader may consult the works of Professor Evans-Pritchard on the Nuer. The Dinka are less well documented.

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localized lineage within one settlement is certainly exogamous and there is also a bar to marriage into the ancestral lineage. The clan, widely distributed in almost homeless throughout Shilluk country, does not function as a corporate unit except at times of national festivals and then only in the sphere of ceremonial and ritual.

Marriage and Marriage Laws

As with the Nuer and Dinka, marriage among the Shilluk is achieved by the performance of recognized social procedures and the payment of bridewealth in the form of cattle, sheep, and goats. Nowadays, cash may be paid in addition to or in lieu of cattle, but not frequently and not in large sums.[1] It must be emphasized from the start that the Shilluk do not possess anything like the number of cattle owned by the Nuer and Dinka,[2] and for this reason alone the number of beasts paid as bridewealth is lower. Among the Nuer and Dinka the average ranges from fifteen to forty head of cattle according to the prevailing condition of the herds. Among the Shilluk the number is fixed at ten head, and although there have been times when few Shilluk were able to pay this number, it has been retained rigidly for several generations despite attempts by the Administration to reduce it. With sheep and goats, which are paid in addition but do not have the same significance, there is no such rigidity. The number of these seems to vary according to the intentions of the bride, though prevailing economic conditions doubtless play their part.

There is much to be found on the subject of marriage in the writings of Hofmayr, Westermann, and Seligman,[3] though many statements are misleading. This summary account of Shilluk marriage laws is based largely on the writings, both published and unpublished, of M. E. C. Pumphrey[4] who not only took into account previous literature but, as an administrator in Shilluk country for several years, had better opportunities to investigate the legal aspect of the subject. These are supplemented by my own direct observations.[5]

The Social Processes and Legality of Marriage

Pumphrey says:

> The marriage tie creates an obligation to pay cattle, but it is not created by or dependent upon such payment. To render a union a marriage only two things are essential. First there must be no positive barrier (such as known consanguinity between the parties . . .) and secondly there must be an offer and an acceptance. The offer and acceptance are symbolized by the man offering the woman's *gat*[6] a sheep (*ghol dhok*). Acceptance of this sheep signifies acceptance of the union. The marriage is then complete.[7]

This transaction, which is limited to the immediate family of the parties to the marriage, is followed by *ring angle* (the borrowing of beer) and a wedding dance (*angle dhok*) to which many persons are invited and which therefore serves to make the union widely known. It is not, however, entirely correct to say that the marriage is,

[1] The tendency to use cash in lieu of cattle is apparently increasing.

[2] Ratio of human to cattle population: Shilluk 1:0.5; Nuer 1:10.5 (highest recorded).

[3] See bibliography of the Shilluk, given in a previous article (*Africa*, vol. x).

[4] Pumphrey, 'The Shilluk Tribe', *J.R.A.I.*, vol. xxiv, 1941.

[5] Based on field work carried out in 1937 and on an investigation and analysis of the marriages of one Shilluk lineage carried out in 1938. The results are to be published later.

[6] Family group and legal guardians.

[7] Pumphrey, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

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lover is any too hard. In place of a recognized tribal fine or compensation he is now a victim of blackmail. The quiet whom he is living with proceeds as follows: 'Give me a cow or I will talk.' This may go on until the lover's capital is exhausted and the quiet with her child or children moves off in search of further prey. The lover has no redress as the whole arrangement is outside tribal custom, and the quiet prospers from her blackmail and prostitution.'

I do not propose to discuss here the reasons for the law against marriage or sexual intercourse with the daughters of reigning or former reths. I have sometimes heard Shilluk say that compensation for illicit intercourse with any women of the royal clan should really go to the reth. There is, however, an obvious distinction between offences committed with daughters of reths and with other females of the royal clan. In the first case, all forms of sexual union are barred and any infringement of the rule is a crime against the reth himself and all he stands for. Moreover female quiets, not being allowed to marry, are in a sense males. Hence sexual relationship with them by a male amounts to perversity and perversity is not a mere private delict but a spiritual offence likely to react upon society as a whole. Shilluk say that theoretically the quiet and her lover should be put to death, but the offence is now compoundable by payment of a fine. The principles of punishment and expiation are involved, not merely restitution. In the case of all other female kwareh, the offence lies not in the fact of sexual relationship, but in an illicit relationship amounting to an infringement of rights which apply to all members of Shilluk society. The wrongdoer pays the indemnity in order to right that wrong. In accepting compensation for offences against other women of the royal clan the reth is acting as the recognized head of that clan and has a right to receive and redistribute (which in fact he usually does) the wealth which belongs to the clan collectively. The former is therefore more nearly a criminal or public offence, the sanctions being penal, while the latter is a private delict involving the restitutory sanction only. It is worth noting that a closer study of this subject might well lead to a clearer picture of the spiritual functions of the reth himself and through him of the royal clan, and also to a more reliable interpretation of his legal functions.

Conclusion

We may conclude by noting that Shilluk marriages have not the complexity, found both in the social processes and the transfer and distribution of bridewealth, which characterizes unions among their Nuer and Dinka neighbours. The principles are, however, comparable. Marriage is achieved by the performance of ceremonies which have both social and ritual aspects. Side by side with these ceremonies is the payment of bridewealth in cattle, goats, sheep, and sometimes cash. Neither is complete without the other and, generally speaking, each stage in the ceremonies is accompanied by further payments of cattle. The *nyaka thiel*, the ultimate ceremony of marriage which corresponds approximately to the Nuer *nam* and the Dinka *thiel ke thiek*, or any one in its legal implications, will not be performed unless sufficient cattle have already been paid to satisfy the kinsmen of the bride. Conversely, the payment of cattle would not legalize the union without the accompanying ceremonies.

* W. H. G. Thomson, unpublished records, 1918.

9.Shilluk E-5 (1937-1954) 1954 F323 Shilluk F323

year round and only the youths go to the cattle camps in the *toonin* pastures, which are never more than a few miles from their villages. The Shilluk are not a pastoral people in the sense that the Nuer and Dinka are, and rely to a much greater extent on agricultural products and on fish, for they are skilled and experienced fishermen. Since their migration to their present territory, it is probable that they have never had a very large cattle population, for their *toonin* pasture is not extensive.[1]

Shilluk clans[2] are not territorial in basis for they are highly segmented and widely distributed throughout the settlements of Shilluk country; as corporate units they have no real significance except at times of national festivals, and then only in the sphere of ritual and ceremony.

The Shilluk are divided into four main classes or groups of clans:

(i) The *dwareh*: the royal house, who trace descent from Nyikang and from whom the *reth* of the Shilluk is chosen.

(ii) The *orwo*: a distinctive branch of the royal house who do not differ from commoners except in the special functions they perform at the installation of the *reth*, during his lifetime, and at his death. They are a distinct exogamous clan, though they may intermarry with the *dwareh* despite common ancestry.

(iii) The *colo*: the name refers collectively to the main body of the Shilluk clans of which a large number trace descent patrilineally from (a) the original followers of Nyikang, (b) individuals of other tribes who have migrated and settled in Shilluk country from early times onwards, and (c) ancestors who are lost in antiquity, but who may have occupied Shilluk country before the arrival of Nyikang.

(iv) The *bang reth*: the personal ascendancy of the *reth*, his wives or wives of past *reths*; the descendants of royal slaves obtained by capture; those who volunteer to serve him by reason of their possession by the spirit of Nyikang,[3] and paupers who volunteer for this form of service in order to raise an ox. Finally, there are the alleged descendants of those who were enslaved because their clans kinsmen committed homicide, though this statement must be examined more critically here.

There are no real caste distinctions between *dwareh*, *orwo*, *colo*, and *bang reth* and, apart from restrictions on the marriages of daughters of a living or past *reth*, they intermarry freely. The *dwareh*, however, by reason of their connexion with Nyikang and subsequent *reths*, are viewed with special respect and this extends to those *bang reth* who have close association with the shrines of Nyikang or of dead kings. The Shilluk have social structures in very similar to that of the Nuer and Dinka, though there are important differences. The segmentation of the population into territorial units and of the clans into localized lineages has, however, a greater permanency and stability. The distinctive feature of the Shilluk political structure is the existence of an established and theocratically exogamous monarchy and it is in the political sphere

[1] An accurate census when during the rainy season campaign against rinderpest gave a figure of [illegible] This was after a very severe epidemic in 1928 [illegible] it may be assumed that they had lost at least [illegible] of their cattle. A human census, accurate to any one within 15 per cent., gives a population figure of 110,000. The ratio of human population to cattle population is therefore between 1:0·5 and 1:1·0. Cf. Nuer where highest ratio given is 1:0·5 and the lowest 1:1·5.

[2] See Lienhardt, 'Associations of', applying the name of the clan, 'Jon Okelo'—the descendants of Okelo—and so on.

[3] Often now considered as the many shrines of Nyikang.

9:Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1952 F323 Shilluk F323

daughter, would marry out of the lineage, and her bridewealth would be used to marry a wife from elsewhere. I can quote no actual instances of this custom, but it is in keeping with Shilluk ideas, and I believe it to have been common in the past. The indemnity is known in Shilluk as *nel dhom*, 'the replacement of a man'. Although the Shilluk do not have an institution comparable to the Nuer and Dinka custom of 'ghost-marriage',[1] they certainly consider that the continuity of the kinship group must be assured and the acceptance of an indemnity is primarily directed to this object. A wife married with 'blood-cattle' is called *nyo nel dhom*, 'the girl in place of the man';[2] and although she is not married specifically 'to the name of the dead man', as would be the case among both Nuer and Dinka, the principles are the same. The primary intention in accepting such payments in cattle is therefore to marry a wife into the dead man's lineage, or to acquire a girl who will either be taken in marriage or retained as a daughter from whom bridewealth may be expected. Since bridewealth among the Shilluk is more or less rigidly maintained at ten head of cattle, it is logical that the indemnity for homicide should also be ten.

Among many Nilotic peoples in the past there were different rates of compensation for the taking of human life according to the status of the person killed. Among the Shilluk a greater differentiation might be expected, but there is little evidence of this, though Shilluk themselves say that to kill a member of the royal clan would be a serious offence and in the past was likely to call forth a punitive expedition by the *reth*. It is significant that Hofmayr says: 'To wound a royal prince or princess, or a royal daughter or son of a prince, whether it happens accidentally or intentionally, demands a high penalty for the shedding of royal blood (*e wum*). In 1911 a boy accidentally injured a royal daughter with a spear and caused only a slight flesh wound. He had to pay six head of cattle (two or three to the King, one to the mother of the girl, and one to the Chief of the village).'

There is normally no distinction in the amount of compensation demanded for the death of a woman. A husband who kills his wife is not expected to pay compensation if he has completed the bridewealth payments. When a woman kills someone, her father or legal guardian is held responsible if she is unmarried; a husband is responsible for the actions of his wife.

As among other Nilotic peoples, when homicide is a joint action, the first man to cause injury to the deceased is held to be responsible for his death.

In the peacemaking negotiations described, the ritual acts and ceremonial procedures are reminiscent of those performed by the 'Leopard-Skin Chief' among the Nuer, and the 'Chief of the Spear' among many Dinka tribes. These similarities are seen in the public ceremonies rather than in the special ritual performed to relieve the killer of the spiritual contamination which is believed to follow an act of homicide; this is not surprising, since obviously the *reth* could not deal individually with every killer. Further, it is customary for these functionaries among both Nuer and Dinka to take a small proportion of the 'blood-cattle' in return for their services;

[1] See Evans-Pritchard, *Kinship and Marriage among the Nuer*, pp. 109–10. Oxford, 1951.

[2] Mr. J. L. Baker tells me that children born in such circumstances are known as *nyo or ater* (according to sex) which means literally 'father dead'.

[3] For example, out of a total varying between twenty and forty head of cattle, the Nuer *kuar kwaar* takes the *yang kwaar* in return for his services; early on in the negotiations for peace, the *reath rom* ('bull call of blood') and *yang kwaar* ('cow of the leopard-skin'), besides two oxen which he receives at the ceremony. In some parts of Nuerland these myth

17: Pumphrey G-S (1934-1938) 1941
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CHAPTER II.
SOCIAL STRUCTURE.

INTRODUCTION.

Unlike their neighbours the Dinka and the Nuer the Shilluk have become entirely sedentary. They have a long river frontage in proportion to the population and there is therefore no necessity for an annual migration for summer grazing. In the summer the cattle are taken across to islands and the youths accompanying them build temporary cattle camps, but in no case is a village periodically entirely deserted.

Thus the Shilluk lack what for example the Dunjol Dinka living opposite them receive, namely an annual refresher course in clan organisation. The Dunjol Dinka village organisation disintegrates in the summer and the clans to a large extent reform for summer grazing. No such periodical reformation takes place with the Shilluk and consequently the clan organisation is more masked by the growth of territorial administrative units. Had the territorial unit, superimposed by years of the sedentary habit, obliterated completely the clan-organisation the administration of the tribe would be relatively simple. But Shilluk conservatism causes them to remain profoundly clan-conscious, and if to-day after some four hundred years of the sedentary state the tribe were for some reason to revert to nomadic habits there is no doubt that the clans would instantly reform.

The territorial system has evolved as the result of the grouping together of neighbouring hamlets, largely for purposes of defence against other groups, into what will be termed "settlements."

THE CLAN (KWAR).

Kwar (meaning literally "descendants"), followed by the name of the ancestor in question, is the Shilluk equivalent of clan. *Kwar* Okel designates all patrilineal descendants of Okel. Often the ancestor is mythical. There may be some hundred recognised clans in the tribe. But though every one knows to which clan he belongs, and although the clan entire continues to be an exogamous unit, it has ceased to possess for practical purposes any corporate unity. It

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941.
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possesses no chief as such. The clans have in fact disintegrated over the face of the country, so that not only will clan "A" be distributed over several settlements, but one settlement will contain detachments of several clans. A detachment of clan within a settlement has been termed a "lineage" by Mr. Howell and will be so termed in this note.

THE SETTLEMENT (PUOK).

The word *puok* is as elastic as the English "home" or the Arabic "dar." It can describe the entire Shilluk country, a settlement or a group of settlements. Properly however it designates the settlement, which is a group of villages, containing several lineages, agglomerated for purposes of mutual defence and owing allegiance to a common chief. The settlement is the basic element in the indigenous tribal structure.

The country is divided into some hundred settlements, varying in size from Kodok which contains more than five adult males to others containing less than ten. Geographically they are divided by lines approximately at right angles to the river.

Each settlement contains, in microcosm, the administrative difficulties of the tribe. For the settlement, which appears at first to be a purely territorial unit, is really a collection of different lineages. These lineages, welded together by threat of war, are apt to be redundant in the present time of comparative peace and although they owe allegiance to their common chief they sometimes feel and pay more to the lineage head within the settlement. There is, in fact, in the settlement, as in the whole tribe, a conflict between the loyalties due to the territorial unit and those due to the submerged but ever existing clan.

It is said that Nyikang originally granted each settlement to a clan. The descendants of the original grantees, if they survive, are considered the owners of the soil and are termed *dyil*, to distinguish them from subsequently immigrating lineages, described as *wadi*. Naturally the lineage of the original grantees is often extinct, in which case the next senior lineage in the settlement becomes *dyil*. In theory the *dyil*

17: Pumphrey G-S (1934-1938) 1961
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CHAPTER III.

The Elements of Shilluk Society.

545 The four elements existing to-day in the tribe are *Kwar Reth*, *Gwen*, *Collo* and *Bang Reth*. The first two together comprise all the patrilineal descendants of Nyikang, the last two the subject body of the tribe. There is no outward difference between the members of these four strata of society either in physique or apparel, and although the *Kwar Reth*, and less so the *Gwen*, are usually treated with a certain outward deference by the *Collo*, little of the original practical difference between conquerors and conquered now survives. Numerically the *Collo* vastly predominate. The *Kwar Reth* are simply an enlarged clan and account for perhaps a fifteenth of the tribe[a]. The *Bang Reth* are perhaps a little more numerous than the *Kwar Reth*, and the *Gwen*, who are as will later be seen a mere segment of the *Kwar Reth*, are numerically negligible.

The Kwar Reth.

The *Kwar Reth*, like any other clan, is diffused over the country. 546 It has no political authority as such but exists as a disjointed aristo- 619 cracy, physically indistinguishable from its *Collo* neighbours, sometimes 619 providing the settlement chief, but more often not. The Shilluk 619 clan being exogamous the *Kwar Reth* cannot intermarry. Accordingly, [625] with the exception of the *Reth's* daughters who cannot marry at all, they inter-marry with the *Collo* without restraint. Most, though not all of the *Reth's* wives are *Collo*.

Within the *Kwar Reth* there are four higher titles. These are 509 *Reth* for the reigning king (who must be a son of a previous *Reth*), 546 *Nyimith* for the son (or daughter) of a *Reth* (reigning or dead), *Nyimith* 619 (or *Nyiciyimith*) for a son of a *Nyimith* and *Kwar Nyimith* (clided into 619 *Kwaynyith*) for a grandson of a *Nyimith*. Strictly every member of the *Kwar Reth* has a claim to the title *Kwaynyith*, but in fact its use is restricted to the grandsons of a *Nyimith* and any remoter descendant who has achieved some political eminence.

a. This is necessarily a very rough estimate.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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With the exception of *Reth*, these titles must always be prefixed by the name of the person addressed. Alternatively the title alone may be used.

The *Kwar Reth* is vastly bigger than any other clan. The reasons for its abnormal growth are two, namely their comparatively great wealth with the consequent tendency to marry more wives, and the cunning process of dissemination whereby the *Kwar Reth* have been gradually planted out and have taken root in every part of the Shilluk kingdom. It is this latter process which will now be described.

The *Reth* has many wives,[1] most of whom live with him at Fashoda. When one is about to give birth she goes to her own village where the *Nyimth*[2] is born. As soon as he is weaned he is "planted out"[3] into the charge of some reputable *Collo chief*[4] who becomes responsible for his upbringing. In the hamlet of his adoption the *Nyimth* grows up and while small herds the sheep and cattle and plays with the village boys as an equal. When he reaches the age of marriage he builds a separate village nearby which will be known as *Pa Nyimth* and will be the village of the *Nyimth's* descendants. As the descendants of the *Nyimth* increase this original *Pa Nyimth* will put forth offshoot villages in the immediate neighbourhood, and thus we see the process whereby the *Kwar Reth* is planted out taken root and grown in an area owned by a *Collo* lineage. It is by this continually repeated process that the *Kwar Reth* have been and continue to be disseminated throughout the country. Each branch of the *Kwar Reth*, once planted, grows alongside the local *Collo* lineage and tends to eclipse it. Slowly results, and often the *Kwar Reth* attain to such numerical superiority that they oust the *Collo* lineage from the chieftainship, whereupon the latter either move elsewhere

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(1) The wife of a *Reth* is known as *kweth*.

(2) It is here assumed that the child is male, though *nyimth* covers either sex. If female she will be similarly planted out but of course she will found no lineage.

(3) *gidh* (used also for planting out cuttings in a flower bed).

(4) The chief concerned will often be the *kwadi's* brother. In any case he cannot refuse this trust which will bring him certain temporary benefits such as milk cows for the *Nyimth's* mother but which will ultimately result unfavourably to his descendants being made subservient to the lineage of the *Nyimth*.

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or survive as a subject element in what was originally their own area. Queen Abuddok[1] is said to have prophesied that one day the *Kwar Reth* would eat up the *Collo*. This process was certainly be was occurring in some localities. For example in the areas of Detwok and Atambwai the *Kwar Reth* are already probably more numerous than the *Collo*. The process, however, is probably not conscious and there is no marked *esprit de corps* between different branches of the *Kwar Reth*. There are great areas which contain no *Kwar Reth* and others[2] where the *Kwar Reth*, though present, remain subject to the indigenous *Collo* lineage. Though there is everywhere local rivalry the grave view taken by Queen Abuddok is probably unjustified.

The other reason for the inordinate growth of the *Kwar Reth* is their great wealth. Until the Turkish Government began its not very successful attempts at governing the Shilluk with the assistance of their *Reths* the latter were extremely rich in cattle. They acquired these largely in the following way. Whenever one settlement waged unjustified war upon another or refused repeatedly to obey his order, the *Reth* would raise as a "royal levy"[3] the adjacent settlements, who would go and drive off the malefactors' cattle and burn their villages. The strength of the levy would vary with the readily calculable strength of the opposition but a good margin of safety would be allowed to ensure that the levy would win. It is said that such levies were in fact seldom resisted, the victims being glad to save their skins at the cost of most of their cattle. The participators in the levy got a percentage of the cattle taken but the majority went to the *Reth*.

THE CHIEFS.

Gwor is a term used to describe any lineage of the *Kwar Reth* which has been degraded, by act of the *Reth*, to *Collo* rank. Such are described by the Shilluk as being "*Kwar Reth* really, but like *Collo*." Numerically they are inconsiderable, but their origin and status are of

1) A Nyimok who ruled the Shilluk country from Fashoda in about 1850.
2) e.g., Ameinjook.
3) Yak ne Reth.

17: Pumphrey G-S (1936-1938) 1941
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interest. They owe their origin, so it is said, to a battle fought at Detang in the time of *Reth* Odak against the Anuak in which the Shilluk were worsted. In view of this reverse it was decided at a council of war that contrary to custom the *Reth's* sons should all join in the fight on the following day. Accordingly all went across the river to fight except one called Dowadh, and all who went were killed. This left a great many grandsons of Odak who, since only the son of a *Reth* may be appointed, could never become *Reth*. Dowadh, the sole surviving *Nyiwik*, in due course became *Reth* and forthwith degraded the lineages of all the slain *Nyiwiku* and made them "as *Colo*." In this way the *Kwar Reth* was restricted to the descendants of Dowadh. The descendants of the other sons of Odak were dubbed "*Gwar*," the meaning of which is "sons of a crowd of girls."

It is said that the *Reth* has always preserved and still possesses the privilege of pruning the royal tree by this process of excising branches relatively distant from his own. Nevertheless it appears not to have been used except by *Reth* Dowadh on this occasion.[1] *Reth* Fadiet tried to degrade the lineage of *Reth* Nyadwai (a prolific monarch whose descendants form an unwieldly branch of the family tree) but was unsuccessful. Had he succeeded they would also now be *Gwar*.

Apparently degradation of a lineage was effected in the following way. Its representatives were summoned and a sprig of thorn having been stuck into the ground the *Reth* spurned a bull and pulled the thorn out. By this act the lineage ceased to be *Kwar Reth*. Hence comes the expression "they have no thorn"[2] which is often used to describe the *Gwar*.

The *Gwar* play the part of masters of ceremonies at the induction into Paduths of a newly appointed *Reth* and have held for at least seven generations the important chieftship of Tonga. For the purposes of

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1. It seems possible that in truth the old *Reths* used this device frequently and that the present *Gwar* are not really all sons of Dowadh but are various lineages all one time or another so degraded. This is conjecture, but no member of the *Gwar* will even admit which is the particular son of Dowadh from whom he is descended. They seem over the subject sensitive, and it is assumed for a Shilluk to be either ambitious or regular about his ancestry.

2. *Aong kwik yi gwa.*

17: Pumphrey G-S (1934-1938) 1961
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the rules of exogamy the *Gwar* are considered as a *Colle* clan and can intermarry with the *Kwar Kuk* as well as with any *Colle* clan other than their own. The *Kuk* always has some *Gwar* women among his wives and it is traditionally they who smother him when his powers of procreation are failing.

THE COLLE.

The *Colle* comprise the aggregate of subject clans whose various origins are for the most part obscure. A few trace their descent from those who accompanied Nyikang from the neighbourhood of Wau.[1] Others, also few in number, purport to be descendant from Nyikang's collateral relatives.[2] Many claim a mythical origin. Others[3] are avowedly accretions, others[4] again being descendants of the prior inhabitants of the country.

KWAR KUK.

It has already been described how the *Kuke* used to keep order in the tribe and how they enriched themselves in the process. With this wealth of cattle they maintained what was an important part of their pomp and execution, namely a large body of retainers known as *Kwar Kuk*. These were recruited in various ways. Originally the main source was captive enemies. In later and more peaceful times they were recruited by voluntary enlistment of those who found themselves in poor circumstances and unable to raise the necessary cattle to marry. Such persons, from the moment they became *Kwar Kuk*, severed all connexion with their own clan and became the *Kuk's* men, pledged to assist him in various ways such as building, tending animals and odd executive duties and receiving in return cattle with which to marry. One method of recruiting *Kwar Kuk*, which is of great interest in that it shows that there was an idea of certain wrongs

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1. *e.g.*, *Kwar Abago*, *Kwar Biok*, *Kwar Nyikang* and *Kwar Ojal*.
2. *e.g.*, *Kwar Jur*, *Kwar Odiet* and *Kwar Ojal*.
3. *e.g.*, *Kwar Jang* (who were originally Dinka).
4. *e.g.*, *Kwar Gwan* (of Ojal).

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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being crimes against the community, was that in cases of homicide the murderer (or his brother if the murderer was exceptional) was compelled to become a *Bong Reth*.

Relations between a *Reth* and his retainers were friendly, nor does the treatment of those who were enslaved as a punishment appear to have differed from that of those voluntarily enlisted. The custom was for the retainers of each *Reth* to make a village for themselves near *Fashoda*. There they would live until the *Reth* died. The *Reth's* body would then be taken to this village and sewed up in a hide where it would remain until entirely decomposed. Only then would the bones be removed by his retainers and buried in his original village. Some of the dead *Reth's* retainers would then move to the village where he was buried and their descendants would there remain with the perpetual obligation of tending his shrine. Others would remain at their village near Fashoda and would have no further obligations to the memory of their dead patron except that they and their descendants would for ever be known as "*Bong Reth Kwalikor*" or "*Bong Reth Nyahwar*" or as the case might be.

The retainers of a particular *Reth*, having severed connexion with their own clan, become a fictitious clan in themselves. As such they cannot intermarry, though there may be no relationship of blood. Thus could a *Reth* marry a daughter or sister of one of his retainers. A *Reth* would address the daughter of a retainer as *howra* (my grand-daughter) which well indicates the relationship subsisting between them.

Under the present regime, partly because the Government has frowned upon the practice and partly because the *Reths* are now deprived of their previous source of wealth, the *Reth* has none of these traditional retainers. To-day the *Bong Reth* comprise the descendants of retainers of previous *Reths*. In some cases they have removed themselves to a new locality but in any case they remain for ever *Bong Reth* "A" or *Bong Reth* "B" (in accordance with the name of the *Reth* their ancestors served) and never rejoin their original clan.

When a *Nyireth* was planted out the *Reth* used to send to live with him a few of his own retainers who became *Bong Nyireth* and

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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who served the *Hyirath* in his life upon terms analogous to those under which *Bang Kuk* served the *Kuk*. After the *Hyirath's* death the *Bang Hyirath* also continued as a fictitious clan. Consequently beside a branch of the *Kwar Kuk* are usually found *Bang Hyirath* who are the descendants of the retainers of the *Hyirath* who is the head of that lineage of the *Kwar Kuk*.

The *Bang Kuk*, whether *Bang Kuk* or *Bang Hyirath*, are by origin *Colle*. Yet their status is slightly inferior to that of the "free" *Colle* and they have therefore been treated as a separate element in this note. The inferiority of their status springs from the fact that they do not belong of right to the area in which they live. They are therefore newcomers, and priority of occupation of land is of great importance to the Shilluk.

CHAPTER IV.

POLITICAL DIVISIONS AND ORGANISATION.

THE PROVINCES OF LOAK AND GOR AND THE OLD ONES.

The settlement has already been described as the basic element in the tribal structure. The settlement chiefs, with few exceptions, are appointed by the *Reth* and this has always been the case. Between the *Reth* and the settlement chiefs there were, before Turkish interference, four high chiefs. The country was then divided into two provinces, Loak in the south and Gor in the north, which were alternatively called *Gol Hyikang* and *Gol Dhiang* respectively[1]. The head-

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[1] The terms *Gol Hyikang* and *Gol Dhiang* are a bit archaic and are only heard on ceremonial occasions such as the rebuilding of Fashoda. The origin of the name *Gol Hyikang* is clearly the tradition that the northern half of the kingdom was settled by *Hyikang* himself, together with the fact that it contains the great shrine at Wadakni. As to the origin of "*Gol Dhiang*". Concerning formerly the Col of the Core I am indebted to Mr. C. W. Harris for the following:-

"On the death of *Reth* Dhakodh the Shilluk did not accept his son Tugo and called back the "queen" Abudhik who had previously ruled after the death of Nyakang and had resigned in favour of her husband. Tugo had been living at Achaibang and was with all his father's wives and retainers, moved to the north and there founded a village at Fashoda, just south of Wadakni. Later he built and gave his name to Dhakodh. He was followed by the northern chiefs, who had gradually left Loak, established in the south of Fashoda, Abudhik then came to meet him at Fashoda, they were reconciled, and Abudhik again resigned. At their meeting Tugo brought a bull to present to Abudhik and she slaughtered it and in doing so named the north, that is from the Nyikang foundation, as "*Gol Dhiang*", the gut of the bull from then killed. Later Tugo settled his relations in what is now Lul'ich, and the chief of these he made responsible for the north and so head of *Gol Dhiang*."

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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CHAPTER 5.
CUSTOMARY LAW.

PROPERTY.

Since the *Kwar* entire has been split into lineages within the various settlements the ties of clan have become weaker and now operate practically only within the settlement. *Pari passu* with this slackening of the ties of the clan has occurred a change in the ownership of cattle[1]. Formerly the clan used to own cattle in a communal herd from which were disbursed cattle in return for wives from another clan. At present the cattle of each hamlet are kept rigidly apart and not even within the hamlet are they communally owned. The *gol* leader alone owns cattle and he alone, as has already been described, can dispose of them. He alone allots cattle as bride wealth for unmarried male members of his *gol* and receives cattle paid to the *gol*, whether as marriage price or as compensatory payment for a wrong.

It is not perhaps too harmful to compare his position with that of a trustee towards beneficiaries (who are the members of his *gol*). He is the sole legal owner and can, legally, dispose of them as he chooses. He holds them in fact however subject to a trust which equity will enforce. The terms of the trust are that all cattle shall be applied solely towards the marriages of male members of the *gol* in order of their seniority, that no cattle shall be sold except for the purchase of grain in time of famine, and that the *gol* leader shall not himself marry a second time unless there is no unmarried male member of the *gol* of marriageable age. Any compensatory payment becoming due from the *gol* on account of a wrong should take precedence over any other payment. A breach of these "terms of trust" would be universally condemned but would probably not be interfered with by the courts, which tend conveniently to hold that a *gol* leader has full and sole right as to disposal.

It is interesting that where a compensatory payment for killing is due the cut is cut wider and not only the entire lineage but even members of other lineages of the same clan may be required to contribute.

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(1) Where "cattle" is used in this chapter it may be taken to connote also or grain.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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pressure to those who encounter them, do not merit discussion. Self-glorification and obstinacy are not in themselves virtues. That the Shilluk are often highly insolent to those in authority is undeniable. This insolence usually takes the form of a supercilious silence and apparent complete disdain implying that "diplomatic relations have now been broken off." This attitude is really not exactly what it seems. In fact it is suppressed rage; but since their symptoms of temper differ from our own we are inclined, often wrongly, to think that it is pure calculated insolence.

The Shilluk have a code of manners which is remarkable. This is instilled into them when young. Even as restless and noisy children within their houses so are the children taught good manners. When four or five years of age they are made to sit up straight at meals and eat properly. These good manners remain with them through life and distinguish their bearing from that of neighbouring tribes. Doubtless it is in part an empty form but the fact remains that the Shilluk manners are excellent, and their way of sitting in a meeting with their legs drawn backwards to one side and the soles of their feet concealed from view is very neat. No smoking is tolerated at such meetings and their general bearing is orderly.

There is a habit, when listening to a superior speaking, of punctuating his remarks with a formal indication of assent. The word then used varies with the speaker, and is most obvious when the speaker is the *Reth*. Here the word is either *Nde Awen* ("the likeness of his ancestor," i.e., *Nyikang*) or *Kwanjiok* ("God's last born"). For members of *Kwar Reth* the word is *Kwiyo*, for the *Gwere* it is *Nyagol* and for some reason for the *Jwang* clan it is *Dhiang*.[1]

It has already been explained how certain members of the *Kwar Reth* must be addressed by their titles or with their titles prefixed to their names. There are also certain respectful modifications which must be made in normal speech when speaking to or about the *Reth*, a *Nyireth*, or anyone of importance. These modifications relate largely to verbs of motion. The fiction has to be laboriously maintained that such

1. *Nde Awen* means "elder born," *Nyagol* means "one of the family" and *Dhiang* means, literally "rain."

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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beings have no motive power other than divine impulse. They are moved always by God. Thus *yi kel ſuok* (you have been brought by God) takes the place of *yi bi* (you have come) which is a normal form of greeting among friends.

When the conversation relates to or is being carried on with the *Reth* himself, more complicated modifications are necessary. Objects used by the *Reth* are called differently from their normal names. There are many examples, most of which have been given by Professor Westermann. It is interesting that the names which objects assume owing to their association with the *Reth* are always names of similar but inferior objects. Thus his beer is called "water," his donkey is called his "dog," his spear is his "stick" and, strangest perhaps of all his head is his "pebble."

Elaborate circumlocution is necessary when enquiring about childbirth. A married woman can hardly be asked if she has children or how many had she got. Even a husband should not be asked outright whether or not his wife had produced him children. The husband will be asked "has your wife found something small?" or "has your wife been helped by God?" It is also very bad manners to ask a woman what is the name of her husband.

These conventions might lead one to suppose that matters of sex were regarded as delicate *par se*, but this is hardly the truth. Outside wedlock there is no shyness. An unmarried girl will be asked with brutal frankness "*yi yaci nwe*" ("you were made pregnant by whom?") and here the word is the same as that used in talking of domestic animals. The inference is that delivery is required not because the subject relates to sex but only if and when it touches upon the marriage tie.

No one can deny that the Shilluk are by our standards brutal. Their code dictates that a man may be killed for a man, quite irrespective of the victim's guilt provided only he is from the clan of the killer of the man avenged.

Their moral code, though peculiar, is definite and strictly observed. The marriage tie is not sacrosanct, but rape, or also prostitution, is almost unknown. Both are regarded with abhorrence.

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

THE SHILLUK SETTLEMENT.

By F. P. Howell.

The Shilluk word *Kwor* may be roughly translated as "clan" and refers to a group of persons who trace descent unilaterally and patrilineally to a common ancestor. They are bound by distinct rules of behaviour, by special and mutual observances and are exogamous. Literally the word *Kwor* means "descendants of" and often has no wider reference than the descendants of a relatively recent ancestor. The exact meaning may vary according to the context. The Shilluk tribe is divided into a number of traditionally recognised clans, the members of which consider themselves bound by ties of kinship, however remote, and although their feeling of corporate unity is much modified by the dissolution of territorial ties, they are still very vaguely clan conscious. In the distant past, in particular during the migration period, the clan was not associated with any particular tract of country, but the members moved from one place to another as a body and the intense feeling of mutual dependence was kept alive by proximity. Today the clan is widely scattered and there is no periodic reunion and the clan never meets or acts as an entity. Thus tradition alone remains and with it the observance of exogamy which does more to maintain clans traditions than any other factor.

As among many primitive peoples, the process of lineal segmentation and migration within the clan has long been a phenomenon of Shilluk society. The original clans—if it be possible to speak of clans as such—are now represented by a number of sib-clans resident in widely separated parts of the country. These sib-clans will hereafter be referred to as "lineages." It is natural that the members of one lineage are more closely bound to each other for they are not only more closely akin, but also in daily communication with each other. Nevertheless, the links which bind together the lineages of one whole clan are not yet wholly severed and after many generations of disintegration, the members still trace descent to a common ancestor.

Cp. 92

603 The Shilluk, although he is conscious of his relationship to his widely scattered kinsmen, normally thinks in terms of his localised lineage. This in using the word *Kwor* he often refers to some comparatively recent ancestor, probably to the Shilluk who originally migrated to his settlement and founded his particular lineage. The emphasis here is upon the circumstances in which he is questioned. Away from his settlement and speaking in tribal terms he will refer to the ancestor common to all his kinsmen, in more detailed family discussions to the founder of his lineage.

613 ●614

Every Shilluk is thus a member of a large and scattered kinship group. He is also a member of a local lineage and is bound to it by vigorous feelings of unity fostered by proximity and common interests. In contrast he is also the inhabitant of a settlement (*Pudi*) and common residence within it implies something more than a neighbourly spirit. Its occupants are not a mere collection of independent lineages, for they are united by social, economic and political obligations, by the need for mutual protection and have recognised rules of behaviour to one another.

621

The Shilluk are now a sedentary tribe, though they were originally nomads, and it has been said that their apparent political and social cohesion in contrast to many related peoples, has been partly due to the greater facility of communication. In fact their history has been one of frequent internal strife and dynastic quarrels, but it is true to say that in the rainy season, when normal communications are made difficult by the rising of the river level, they have always had an unrestricted medium of travel on the Nile itself and settlements are conveniently situated near to its banks. Shilluk villages are built in an almost continuous line along the west bank with a few scattered settlements on the east bank and on the lower reaches of the Sobat. This formation, however, means that they are dispersed over a very long area, and from Fashoda in the south, it is a considerable journey to Tonga or Manaka. Taking Shilluk country as a long narrow strip, without including the inland pastures or hunting grounds, the density of population is undoubtedly far greater than among most Nilotic tribes in the Sudan, but the length of country between the centre and

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 F323 Shilluk F323

the more distant settlements, owing to the length of the populated area, is not very much shorter. Most parts of Shilluk country are accessible to the inhabitants even when the water-courses and swamps are full, but travelling is not easy and social contact consequently less frequent in the rainy season. The result of such periodic inconvenience of communication and the length of inhabited country are twofold. In the first place, in the part at anyrate, the immediate power of the central authority the *Reth*, was slightly diminished and he was more dependent on the loyalty and competence of the settlement chiefs. Second, difficulty of communication increases the isolation of the settlement and intensifies the feeling of unity within it. Moreover the clan, having no territorial basis, is put to a further disadvantage. The settlement thus gains importance socially, economically and politically in the structure of the tribe.

The formation of the settlement is based on a particular association of lineages and its structure can only be understood after a searching examination of their position. The fusion of clan segments, individual enterprise and migration has been frequent for a very long period of Shilluk history. In each settlement there are therefore both indigenous elements and newcomers. Mr. Pumphrey has explained in outline the position and significance of the *Dyil*.[1] They are fundamentally associated with the land they occupy, and theoretically they enjoy great prestige and authority. Among most primitive peoples the fusion of sentiment on land is bound up with human interests and those who are more closely bound to it acquire special functions and prerogatives not accorded to newcomers. Besides their ritual association with the land, the *Dyil* have obligations and observances of primary importance in the social machinery of their settlement and they form the centre round which internal political activities revolve. Subsequent accretions known in Shilluk as *Wath* normally hold a position of political subservience to the *Dyil*. It must be emphasized here, that this implies no social inferiority; it merely means that the *Dyil* are expected to take the lead in matters of importance to all inhabitants of the settlement. The *Jago* is usually the chosen representative of the *Dyil* lineage and holds the *Low Dwong* of office. Mr. Pumphrey has pointed out that [illegible] are the descendants of the people who originally occupied [illegible] (Govt. Sh. Rep., "Religion")

IB: Haswell E-5 (1937) 1941 F323 Shillok F323

child and by their special relations with the lineage which holds authority over them. Then there are social, political and economic influences backed by common residence which promote unity and communal security, and patterns of behaviour arise entirely distinct from those which characterize the kinship group.

The balance of loyalty to settlement or to kin is difficult to define. The lineage resident in one locality is clearly the most significant unit of society. Blood relationship in closer and co-operation is intensified by daily contact and mutual interests. All the factors which make for peace and mutual help in the settlement are not sufficient to break the ties which unite the local lineage. Loyalty, obligations and observances are greater towards a blood relative who is also a neighbour than towards an individual who is a neighbour only. The corporate unity of the lineage is kept alive by kinship which is a biological fact and the observances of exogamy and all the complicated obligations raised in marriage do not allow the Shilluk to forget. The extended clan, however, in which relationship may be so remote as to be fictitious, is not connected together by lasting and mutual interests, nor are old associations renewed by periodic reunion. Even so, the traditions of the clan are to some extent maintained and the rule of exogamy is not broken however scattered its members

The Shilluk settlement consists of a number of hamlets *Kiyar*, (Pl *of Par*,) each occupied by a lineage. The settlement has a varying number of distinct lineages resident therein, but each hamlet is exclusively occupied by a kinship group. Each hamlet is a separate cluster of huts which are built along the high ground parallel to the river bank. The distance between each varies from a hundred yards to a mile or so. The hamlet is not constant in the number of its huts and grows or diminishes in size according to the increase or decrease in numbers of the lineage which occupies it. Mr. Pumphrey has explained that off-shoots from hamlets are continually being initiated by enterprising young Shilluk who, having married, wish to build a home for themselves away from the parent hamlet. Sometimes these off-shoots (*Kiyala Kiyar*) are started in other parts of the country, more usually within the settlement and not far from the birthplace of their founder.

The Age-Set System.

The age-grade[1] organization is a system of compulsory associations based on classifications of age and sex. In structure it is usually tribal, in outlook and political function essentially democratic. Among the Shilluk, however, age-sets are recruited within the local group or settlement and have no connection beyond similarity of form and function, with age-sets recruited in other settlements. As will be seen, the role which the organization plays in tribal and settlement life is very limited, and is confined to specific military purposes.

It has been stated by some authorities that the age-set system is entirely lacking among the Shilluk or that it has broken down beyond recognition.[2] This would not be surprising, for the organization of a group into parallel associations based on age and sex, for political purposes at any rate, is almost incompatible with an autocratic political system. It must be remembered that although the concept of monarchy among the Shilluk has not reached the same level as in the Lobaduirian Bantu kingdoms or certain other Sudan tribes, it is more developed than among most kindred Nilotics. The age-set system necessarily cuts across the bonds of consanguinity, and, without severe modifications of

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1. The distinction between "age-set" and "age-grade" as followed by Prof. Radcliffe-Brown and quoted by S. F. Nadel in *The Nuba: An Anthropological Study of the Hill Tribes in Kordofan*, 1947, pp. 239-240. Hence Evans-Pritchard also refers to "age-set" systems rather than "age-grade" systems and since this is a more accurate description its terminology is followed below.

2. Malcolm (William Malcolm, *The Shilluk Constitution, Religion and Laws* (Khartoum, n.d.)) says that not mention age-grades specifically, but with reference to initiation and wishes he mentions the existence of such an organization.

"Every man is a soldier and literally always under arms. Every Shilluk who has successfully passed to a warrior as long as he is able to bear arms. They have groups. Every settlement is independent with its own Reny (principle singer and grandsire). Different settlements combine and unite forts under the leadership of the eldest Reny against their powerful enemies. The Reny has only arbitrary powers and is chosen by the elders of the district. Unmarried youths form what corresponds to our permanent army, which is divided according to age and has many names"

social and political function, cannot exist in a society where authority is held by virtue of blood. Further it is likely to raise ties and mutual obligations which conflict with those patterns of behaviour which unite the members of a clan. Usually, when the age-set system is highly developed, the clan system is weakened. The reverse may also be true, and since the kinship groups within the Shilluk settlement retain their distinction, the age-set system is of no great social significance. This is particularly so with regard to political matters. The *Reth* and the elders of the *Dyil* clan and a limited number of representatives from the less powerful lineages hold political authority in the settlement, and over them is the theoretical omnipotence of the *Reth*.

The group solidarity of the settlement springs from the power and prerogative of the *Dyil* clan and from common interests and territorial proximity. The compulsory association and sterilization of all male members of the settlement emphasizes that feeling of solidarity, but does not conflict with the political function of the *Dyil* clan, for its purpose is limited to warfare. In inter-lineage disputes within the boundaries of the settlement the organization does not function, but in warfare on a wider scale when the separate lineages must fight as one, the young men and warriors are mobilized into age-sets.

Every male inhabitant of a settlement, on reaching the age of puberty, is automatically grouped with his comrade and together they are recruited to the most recently formed age-set. Each age-set, known in Shilluk as *Bin*, is made up of a series of sub-divisions which are grouped together temporarily until a new reorganization is made. There are two grades through which the members of an age-set will pass before retiring from active military service. Recruitment is compulsory and never individual.

The general structure of the organization is best explained diagrammatically.

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9. Chiefs.

19: Howell & Thompson E, G-S (1943-1944) 1946
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that Shilluk country once extended as far as Gordon's Tree which is just south of Khartoum. Whether there were Shilluk settlements permanently occupied in that area or whether this represents the furthest point to which they penetrated in raids and hunting parties is not certain.

The Shilluk are now a sedentary people and do not have any large scale migration in search of fresh pastures during the dry season. Their permanent villages, built on the high ground close to the Nile, are occupied all the year round, and only the youths go into the cattle camps, which are never more than a few miles from the villages. The cattle camps are mostly situated on islands and dried out watercourses which run parallel to the river.

Territorially the country is divided into two great provinces Core and Luak. (Note 1) These two provinces are again divided into further divisions, the functional meaning of which is difficult to discover, but which retain according to Shilluk tradition a vague feeling of mutual co-operation in times of stress. These divisions were made by order of Nyikang. In most cases these divisions have been utilized by the Government for administrative purposes. Finally the country is divided into a large number of settlements, which are made up of many villages. Shilluk clans are not territorial in basis for distinct lineages of one clan may live in many and widely separated settlements. The largest unit exclusively occupied by a kindred group is the village or tho.[2]

The Shilluk people are divided into four main classes or groups of clans.

(i) The Kwareth, the royal clan who trace descent from Nyikang and from whom the reth[3] is chosen.

(ii) The Ororo, a disinherited branch of the royal house, who do not differ from commoners except in the special functions

1. See P. P. Howell, "The Shilluk Settlement", S.N.R. XXIV, 1941.
2. The word tho also often been translated as "king." We prefer to use the Shilluk word throughout.
For Notes see pp. 15 ff.

19: Howell & Thomson E, C-5 (1943-1946)1946
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they perform in connection with the cult. They are a distinct clan. 565 614 [illegible]

(iii) The Cole—the name refers collectively to the main body of Shilluk clans (four), of which there are a large number — trace descent patrilineally from (a) the original followers of Nyikang, (b) those individuals of other tribes who have migrated and settled in Shilluk country from early times onwards, and c) those who are lost in antiquity, but who may have been the people who occupied Shilluk country before the arrival of Nyikang: their traditions certainly confirm this.

(iv) The Dang Reth, the personal attendants of the reth, his wives or wives of the past reths, which are in many case inherited by the successor, and the descendants of the royal slaves obtained by capture from those who refused to serve the reth by reason of their protection by the spirit of Nyikang, or paupers who volunteer to serve him in order to raise at all, and those persons who were enslaved because their brothers committed homicide. 565 567 614

There is no real caste distinction between the Kwareth and Cole. However the Kwareth are themselves a patrilineal clan and therefore exogamous, and there is no mutual ban on marriage between them and the main body of the people, except in the case of the reth's daughters, who are not allowed to marry at all. The Kwareth, however by reason of their connection with Nyikang and previous reths are treated with special respect. 565 614 [illegible] [582]

The Shilluk have less cattle than their Nuer and Dinka neighbours and being predominantly cultivators rely more upon agricultural products. Apart from cultivation—almost entirely millet—and the milk and meat from their cattle, the Shilluk supplement their diet with fish and they have the reputation among other tribes of being exceptionally skilled fishermen. Except for the more permanent territorial basis of their settlements, the basic social structure is very 105

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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123 643 Our task has not been easy. It was almost impossible—particularly during the more public events which were attended by thousands of Shilluk—to observe all the individual ritual acting which occurred, often simultaneously. The scene was set from Kwomo to Tonga—a distance of about two miles—and the whole tribe entered into the spirit of the occasion. Moreover, it was not seemly to interrogate the performers while the ceremonies were going on. Thus, while in many cases we observed behaviour, ritual and emotional 124 643 attitudes displayed by individuals or crowds, we were not able to interrupt to demand an explanation from the participants. Most of the onlookers knew little more than we did, though the events had to them an accepted meaning in the context of tradition stamped on [127] their minds from birth, but only vaguely so, for Shilluk tradition rests in the minds of the elders. In a series of ceremonies, which are [128] carried out by many clans each with its peculiar duties to perform, each man knows with any degree of accuracy only the part that he must play. Subsequent interrogation was often sterile. Sometimes the Shilluk do not know, sometimes tradition exists only as such and the meaning is lost in antiquity. Interest after the event—at the time roused to a high pitch of emotional excitement—soon dies down. Answers were therefore often evasive, contradictory and even misleading.

123 643 Subsequent events, prolonged leave in England, accumulated administrative duties, etc., have made it difficult, if not impossible, to pursue our investigations. The installation of Anei Kur is three years past, and the results of our observations must be published now at the risk of criticism. We have omitted in many cases to explain fully the meaning of the varied forms of ritual, and failed to include a full description of the origin and significance of the many sacred and material objects used. At this stage of our investigations it would be misleading to speculate too deeply into those things about which our knowledge is far from complete.

643 It is not easy to draw conclusions, but certain facts are abundantly clear:—

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

182 766 dance at Pareth Fafiti lasted three days only, and no dance was held at Fashoda at all.

[644] 766 The duties of organising the dance and of beating the drums fall to a clan called Kwanyikir, the majority of whom live in the vicinity of Kodok. They are responsible for discipline among the dancers, and in particular for keeping unauthorised persons out of the sacred spots. About two hundred and fifty bulls were slaughtered for the occasion, fifty of which were provided by the family of Fafiti and the rest by well-wishers, who included a number of Arab merchants. The distribution of meat was arranged by Kwanyireth Kir, chief of Fadiang, who is chief of all the *kwareth*. As he is senile, blind and deaf, he was assisted by Kwanyireth Bol, chief of Lul and government court chief of the Fashoda division for the portion of Goi Nyikang.

643 776 The new *reth* has no special functions to perform, and it was noticeable how careful he was to keep himself in the background. He never appeared in public while the dances were in progress, and though he attended on all three days he always went straight to his hut on arrival, and remained there during the day, and until he was ready to return [644] to Fashoda. It was obvious that the proceedings concerned the late *reth* alone, and it was his son Byawalo Fafiti who acted as host.

631 766 We had hoped that the form in which the contingents of dancers came in would throw some light on the traditional grouping of Shilluk sections and former political organization. We had been told by the *reth* that all sections in the three divisions of Fashoda, Golbainy, and Detwok would be represented, and no one else. In fact a contingent also came from the Athodwoi division from north of Detwok. As far as could be seen the size of the contingents corresponded with the poll tax lists, and from those contingents who did come, very few warriors could have been missing. In the confusion of the dance it was not easy to see how the sections grouped themselves, but we got the impression that the Golbainy division split up into what, in government terminology are called "sections," but which tribally are more like the other divisions which participated. For example the sections

19: Howell & Thomson E, C-5 (1943-1944)1945
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The electoral college, in whom rests the responsibility for electing a new reth, is a very conscious survival of the traditional structure of the Shilluk tribe, and we believe it to be composed of those who are the descendants of the men who were, at any rate traditionally, the lord-lieutenant of the various counties into which Nyikang divided his kingdom, with the inclusion of three representatives from the large royal clan.

Shilluk society is divided into four main classes, the Kwareth, Cole, Orore, and Bang Reth, two of which the Kwareth and Cole together represent by far the greater part of the tribe and together provide the electoral college. The Orore and Bang Reth have very important ceremonial functions in the installing of the reth, but no say in his election. As has been explained in the introduction the Kwareth "clans" are really an extended clan, they are the descendants of the royal house, and they all trace their ancestry back to a *nyireth* and through him and his father directly back to Nyikang. The Cole are the mass of the Shilluk people divided into many clans, who may trace their origin to a family ancestor who "came with Nyikang" to what is now Shilluk country, or claim to be pre-Shilluk inhabitants of the country, or some of those non-Shilluk accretions, which Nyikang collected to him as he pursued his conquests.

Nyikang settled the west bank of the White Nile, from "Tonga to Mwomo," (the traditional boundary in the north is More some four miles north of the river port at Kaka, and in the south at Faloje about ten miles upstream of Tonga'. As he went he parcelled out the country among his followers, and made eleven of them chiefs[10] of the first degree, answerable to him and looking to him for their appointment and authority. When the organization became complete the lords of the marches of Tonga and Mwomo became even more important than the others by virtue of their duties in connexion with the defence of the Shilluk boundaries and their distance from Fashoda. But although these two were the most important on the executive side of

10. They were all Cole. Kwareth, who are descended from sons of reths, did not, of course, exist in Nyikang's day, for he was the first reth.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1945
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173 678 the traditional Shilluk polity, the two courts to Fashoda were the greatest in the land in all constitutional and ceremonial matters, and in the prestige deriving from their office. These two were the chief of Kwom, the section immediately south of Fashoda, and the chief of Golbuiny a section five miles to the north.

Nyikang divided the country into two halves separated by the Khor Arogejar just south of Fashoda. All the country to the south was called Gol Nyikang, and all to the north, Gol Dhiang. The chief of Kwom was in theoretical charge of the counties of Gol Nyikang, and the chief of Golbuiny of those of Gol Dhiang. How far the writ of these two viceroys ran in executive matters within their provinces is not clear. Judicially they almost certainly had no say, and in executing commands of the reth they may have acted as messengers of the reth, but can scarcely have had authority of their own. In all matters concerning the election of the reth the deference shown them was a feature of the various meetings.

178 651 Details of these various officers are given in Appendix 1. Of the eleven Colo chiefs, a number are still in fact the chiefs of government "divisions," which correspond in most cases with Nyikang's divisions, but others, whose lineage and following have shrunk, no longer have the support to press their claim to what is still regarded by all Shilluk as their office as of right. Though tradition counts for much and ancestry as well, these sanctions alone will not support the legitimate claim of a chief unless he has an imposing number of warriors prepared to back him. The present chief of Golbuiny, for instance, has impeccable ancestry and traditional backing, but his lineage is now small in numbers and his position as chief much weakened on that account and by agitation from other stronger lineages to be granted the chieftainship. Another interesting example of this tendency is that in recent years Kwareth lineages which are generally strong, are pressing to be given the chance to fill these chieftainships from their numbers, against all traditional usage. The traditional great chiefs who are now "impoverished" are always called in on ceremonial occasions, but have been superseded by government as the Shilluk themselves for everyday matters of administration.

19: Howell & Thomson E, C-5 (1943-1944)1946
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the Shilluk themselves for everyday matters of administration.

Apart from these eleven Cole chiefs, three members of the Kwareth are also members of the electoral college. Each reth appoints one of his sons to be "responsible" for the family. This son is not necessarily elected reth—in fact we doubt whether he ever has been—but he is of considerable importance. The three members of the electoral college are the descendants of the heads of three great lines of the Kwareth. Why these three should be chosen, to the exclusion of other Kwareth branches is not clear. We think they are the most important because the ancestor of each, from whom his claim to membership of the college depends, was the chief son of those three branches of the family nearest to the throne. The chief of Fadiang is regarded as in some ways chief of the Kwareth, and though the other two Kwareth members are venerable chamberlains, all the houses now eligible to produce candidates for the rethship are descended directly from the sons of reth Nyakwac, the chief of whose sons was the ancestor of the chief of Fadiang.

Such, as far as we can disentangle it, is the theory of the constitution of the electoral body. In practice there were certain difficulties due, as usual to the fact that Shilluk tradition is nowhere written down and relies upon the memories of the elder men. A comparison of the government files on the elections of 1913 and 1927 shows that the lists of chiefs forming the electoral college were more or less the same as those in 1943 and the variations were mostly accounted for by deaths, absentees etc.

The first thing that happened after the passing of reth Fadiri was an unofficial committee on "ways and means", whose main object seemed to be to discover what ought to be done, and who ought to do it. This process went on, more or less consciously till the end of the installation ceremonies. It was a refreshing of the memories of Shilluk tradition and history. At this meeting the members of the electoral college were decided upon and summoned to Fashoda. Certain influential chiefs seemed to think it would be impossible to

19: Howell & Thomson E, C-9 (1943-1944)1944
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to Elk. However the delay was quite simply explained. Nyikang was not ready. A hitch had occurred in finding the cloth for his body. (A new effigy of Nyikang is made for each rek, and on the death of a rek the old effigy is destroyed). Another delay was caused by the Court messengers sent from Fashoda to Akurwa to say that all was ready. They dawdled on the way.

On the 16th February "Nyikang" and "Dak" started on their way. First they must beat the bounds of Shilluk country proper, and they went to Mare, some five miles north of Kaka market. The procession was first observed in the section of "There" just south of Kaka.

Nyikang and Dak are carried by men of the Kwaytkwom clan, who live at Akurwa. They are surrounded by the youths of the Kwaytkwom carrying whips to drive away the inquisitive or profane. As Nyikang passes through a section of the Shilluk country, the men of the section escort him to their borders. Anyone who is beaten by the whips of the Kwaytkwom is said to be held to ransom until he pays a fine of a goat. There are various offences for which Nyikang penalises people on the way. Nyikang's image is made from ostrich feathers and bamboo. It is therefore sacrilege for a Shilluk to be seen with an ostrich feather in his hair or carrying bamboo. The ritual of burial must be completed for all who have recently died. Nyikang must not pass anything useless. In Nyikang's presence Shilluk must not present a warlike appearance. A man carrying a spear may not have a shield as well, and a man with a shield is only allowed a millet stalk. Nyikang advances with his son Dak at a leaping trot of about 6 m.p.h. escorted by the Kwaytkwom and the men of the section through which he is passing. As he approaches a village the people dash out as if to ward him off, but quickly over-powered they soon join the procession. It is usual for gifts of a sheep or a goat to be presented to or exacted by Nyikang, and it was noticeable how all small stock and fowls were either shut up or driven away from the vicinity of Nyikang, for Nyikang has a right to anything he fancies. As Nyikang proceeds with Dak his son beside him, the escort chants

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-S (1943-1946) 1946
FJI3 Shelfish FJI3

was cast and slaughtered. The procession did not move for. A violent quarrel broke out between the clansmen of Kwa Okelo and Kwa Mal. The argument arose over the privilege of sewing cowry shells in the *roth*'s path on his journey to Fadiodo. Kwa Mal maintained that it was their traditional right to do so, but Jago Yelelker had given the shells to the Kwa Okelo. The Kwa Mal considered themselves slighted, and *ayiesh* Nyawelo, the eldest son of the late *roth*, who attempted to intervene, seemed to aggravate the dispute rather than settle it. Finally the custom of sewing cowry shells was abandoned altogether, as there was a complete deadlock between the parties concerned.

The procession then moved on its way down the slope to the plain below, singing and beating spear-shafts together as they went. Again they halted, and here another argument arose, this time over the shield of Nyikang, which should be carried before the *roth* (Note 10), and which had been forgotten. Informants stated that this was a small shield slightly larger than those carried by girls at play, but smaller than a fighting shield. Eventually an ordinary battle shield was produced as a substitute, and the shield-bearer took up his position in front of the *roth*. The party moved on, Kwa Ojol on the right and Kwa Okelo parallel on the left, in front of them the *roth*'s messengers and behind the main body of followers surrounding the *roth* himself :—

19: Howell & Thomson E, C-S (1943-1946)1946
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The assembly had by then formed up in better order, which they retained until the nuk stopped for refreshment. Thereafter the high grass at the side of the narrow track precluded the original formation, and Kwa Ojol went ahead, followed by Kwa Okolo, and the nuk and the main body of the people behind.

On reaching the outskirts of Akwalui about half a mile from Debain, the first messenger of the nuk ran ahead to bear news to Nyikang of the nuk's approach. The nuk's messengers are said to be Kwa Otwot, and it would follow that they are members of one clan in fact they are chosen from many clans (Note 11).

Shortly after the despatch of the first messenger, the nuk retired to the Arab merchant's shop for rest and refreshment, and the crowds squatted down on the grass ahead. After an interval of ten minutes, the nuk came out again, and, walking fast, took up his position with the Ororo and Kwareth once more, and the procession moved off again in the direction of Fashoda. By this time the party had reached Khor Arrepejur and spread out in a long line several ranks deep and parallel to the watercourse. The crowd was obviously larger than at Debain, for people had been joining in en route, and late-comers had caught up. Others broke away and ran off to nearby villages, where they left their spears and collected millet stalks for the struggle with Nyikang which was to follow.

The Crossing of the Watercourse.

On the opposite side of the watercourse Jago Thalo, the titular chief of Gol Dhiang, with a small party of warriors had arrived to hand over the black bull, over which the nuk must step before crossing Arrepejur, and bearing with them a fish spear wrapped round with a grass mat, another of the many sacred spears of Nyikang. On the other side also were two members of the Kwa Mal carrying a chicken with which they swept the path of the nuk after he had crossed over.

Just before the nuk and his followers reached the watercourse a "dust-devil" was seen whirling down towards Fashoda and this was

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-S (1943-1946)1946
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and the reth himself captured by Nyikang. Shortly after the first onslaught he was seen in the midst of a crowd of Kwa Nyikwom, cut off from his own followers, and as the procession moved on towards Fashoda he took up, or was forced to take up, his position under the shadow of Nyikang, clasping the effigy with both arms and the black ostrich feathers screening his face.

The eldest son of Fafiti then remarked with relief "very soon," "the installation is assured", meaning that the great crisis was passed.

THE RETH CARRIED OUT TO THE SHRINE OF NYIKANG.

The party with Nyikang and the reth in their midst then turned towards Fashoda, and walked slowly in the direction of the cleared space which marks the pool of Corlue (Note 13). The drums of Nyikang, of which there are two sets, and which accompanied Nyikang from Akurwa, were carried in front and beaten with the rhythm characteristic of the march of Nyikang. The procession drew up to the cleared space called Corlue and halted. In the middle were a group of people clustered together. They were the Kwa Okelo, who were engaged in wrapping the brown heifer from head to tail in white cloth (Note 16). When this had been done, they remained in the centre of the square while Nyikang, with the reth immediately behind him and apparently entangled in the cloth wrappings which hung down from the head of the effigy, processed three times round them. With much singing and drumming the party then faced the shrine of Nyikang, while the Kwa Okelo speared the heifer, and tore off the white wrappings, which immediately were seized and carried away by the crowds as sacred relics.

THE ENTHRONEMENT AND SUBSTITUTION.

After the spearing of the heifer, the reth, still closely led by Nyikang, advanced towards the shrine. Meanwhile the canopy of white cloth, which is held up to screen the sacred stool (Note 17) of the Shilluk from

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-3 (1943-1946)1946
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6. *Continues.* All the warriors were "war paint", their faces smeared with red, a mixture of brick dust and oil. Their wigs and leather crests were worn by most men, including chiefs, who had no elaborate head-dresses of their own hair. Skins were worn as well as cloth. Leopard skins were worn, largely by wives of the late *ratu*, and by *bete* *ratu* and chiefs, and the skins of the Mrs. Gray antelope and *ratu* by those to whom they had been presented by Fulili. An interesting feature was the senior wife, who was clad in the deceased's clothes, his special cloak (*liwa*), *cummerbund*, and *ratu*, and the Scottish International Rugby cup which had been presented to Fulili by Mr F. Moore. The cup had aged a lot in the last few years, but has established itself as part of the regalia, and the new *ratu* requested that a substitute be found for him for the ceremonies.

NOTES TO PART 3

7. The *ratu* could not start without *vyakuve*. Her status and significance are discussed in the text of the fourth day's ceremonies. It is possible that the lateness of the Kwa Okel was due to a conventional reluctance to produce the girl.

8. Important personages in the ceremony, and female relatives of the *ratu* or attendants of Nyikeng were the skins of female Mrs. Gray antelope. The *ratu* himself wore one on the last two days of the ceremony. The chief of Gol Nyikeng was observed on the morning of the first day's ceremonies wearing a black skin of the male Mrs. Gray. He soon changed to a female skin.

9. The *ratu* was on a journey, and these were his attendants and his luggage. Nyikeng had a similar retinue.

10. The *ratu's* sacred shield is a counterpart to that of Nyikeng. Like Nyikeng's shield it should have been brought from Pachoda, but at the last moment it was forgotten.

11. The Kwa Otwot may originally have been a clan which has now died out. The prefix indicates an agnatic kinship group. They

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-S (1943-1944) 1946
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are not a clan name, and are nonsingulars chosen at law, as far as we could judge. *Yaw* is the word used for the *rath*'s nonsingulars.

10. These nonsingulars connected to a bargaining about how many cows the *rath* should give Nyikang. Whether the intention was to bribe Nyikang to cease and install the *rath*, or to persuade him to stay away because of his "holiness" is not clear. We incline to the latter explanation, but Mr. McClure favours the former.

13. *Nyakwer*, meaning the girl, or women, connected with the ceremonies, could be used of any individual female participant.

14. One impression of those ceremonies witnessed by us was that Nyikang was held in excellent awe.

15. Corbet, and Kol wi Jang. Corbet is what the Shilluk say used to be a pool and is now filled up, but was carefully weeded for the occasion. Kol wi Jang, or Ujang, is two yards N.E. of Corbet.

16. All objects of great sanctity were covered in white cloth. The wrapping of cattle in cloth very merely signify their ritual value, and the necessity for screening them from the public gaze, but with all cattle it was evident how careful the Shilluk were to see that the animal was blindfold. After wrapping the animal the cloth itself was greatly prized as a sacred relic, being imbued with the sanctity of the animal.

17. Tradition says that the original stool was captured by the "Fung" and never returned. The present stool is a substitute. The cloth wrappings made it impossible to see the exact shape, but it had four legs, and appeared to be about twenty inches long and ten inches wide.

18. *P. Munro.* "The installation of the *rath* of the Choi". *S.N.R.* Vol. I, pp. 143 ff., reprinted as Appendix I in *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan* by C. G. and B. Z. Seligman, p. 546.

19. This remark shows that the property of the *rath* is also property of Nyikang—at least after the installation is completed. Actually the cattle paid to the Kwa Okalo belonged to Fallil, but

19: Howell & Thomson E, C-5 (1943-1944)1946
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APPENDIX III.

(W.F.G.T.)

LIST OF CLANS PERFORMING IN THE INSTALLATION CEREMONIES.

References are made to the list of Shilluk clans in Westermann, *The Shilluk People* pp. 118-134.

Kwa Mid. The clan which claims the privilege of sowing cowrie shells in the path of the *reth* on his journey from Debalo to Ampejur. Westermann lists them as 2 and 24, but assigns to them the functions which we believe are performed by Kwa Nyikwom.

Kwa Nyikang. The clan which provides the ceremonial blacksmiths for the royal spears. Westermann lists them as No. 8, but assigns to them a different function. The duties of Westermann's No. 60, Kwa Anut, seem similar (the making of fire by friction).

Kwa Ghale. The clan charged with producing the small girl, *apaluor*, for the ceremonial marriage. Westermann lists them as No. 14, not No. 13.

Kwa Nyikin. The clan responsible for the management of the funeral dance; called by Westermann Kwa Nyikni and listed as No. 65.

Kwa Nyikwom. The high priests of Nyikang at Akurwa, who carry Nyikang to Fashoda, and tend his shrine. They drive off intruders with whips on the way to Fashoda. Not listed by Westermann, though his No. 1, "Kwa Lak" has similar functions.

Kwa Ojal. The clan which produces the heifer for the journey from Debalo to Fashoda. Not listed by Westermann.

Kwa Wang. The clan responsible for beating the drum which applauds approved speeches on the last day of the installation ceremonies. Westermann lists Kwa Wan as No. 44.

Note. We find that this list of clans given by Westermann betrays marks of haste. He assigns one house for most clans. While the clans are generally to be found in the places he mentions, several subsidiary lineages of the same clan are frequently found elsewhere.

20. Thomson G-5 (1945-1946) 1948 F 213 Bu Glish F 213

693 was completely peaceful, and the people of the villages surrounding Fadumla were not much in evidence.

The method of summoning the new *nsik* was interesting. Dak like other men of Fadiet was not for away, and the *chief of God* Nyikang sent his men by night to get him. Whether or not there is a much fight between the selected candidate and the messengers I do not know, but the traditional form of words announcing the choice was told to me. It is an interesting example of Shilluk "understatement" when talking of the *nsik* (*S.S. Pumphrey Sudan Notes & Records* Vol. XXIV, p. 46) — "You are our Dinka slave, we want to kill you" which means "You are our chosen *nsik*, we want to install you in Fadumla."

It was said that the installation of *nsik* Anri had been hurried and many things had been forgotten. This was interesting in view of Anri's short tenure of office, which may have been due, in Shilluk eyes, to the omission of essential ceremonies connected with the installation. It was also said, and this was true, that Anri had hurried his installation through four, in his anxiety to get it over. The new *nsik* determined that in his case there should be nothing lacking and that the proper interval of time should be allowed to elapse. That this period is a time of ritual danger, as we suggested in the previous article, was frequently confirmed in 1946. The *nsik* became more and more worried as the installation approached. There were rumours of rivals being harboured by important chiefs, and of preparations made for his assassination. They culminated in a strong rumour that a *myiath* had declared his intention of assassinating the *nsik* on the first day of the installation ceremonies. Mr. J. C. N. Donald, who followed the *nsik*'s party in their march to Fadumla on that day, confirmed the *nsik*'s nervousness. After the installation ceremonies were safely over, I asked the *nsik* about this, suggesting that his apprehensions had been ill-founded, and he admitted, for the crisis was then over, that he had never had concrete evidence of any plot.

The actual preparations followed similar lines to those of 1944. It appeared that it was important that the ceremonies should take place on a waxing moon, and in the event this delayed the installation for about three weeks. As the time approached, there was the same apprehension that Nyikang would not start from Akurwa.

On 27.12.46 Nyikang and Dak arrived at Adodo Nyigir at sunset, carried by Kwanyikwom, the sacred clan from Akurwa who always have this duty. They entered the village, as they had done in 1944, over the body of a black sheep, and after dancing round the village, they went into the same house. They had come, as before, after

remains of the cook had been buried, the four Nyikir took the field in front of four upturned drums. These drums were either those of the village of Dakwor or had been borrowed from nearby villages. The anti-clockwise procession of the four Nyikir then began, each of them hopping over a ground (hung) which was produced as a substitute for a sheep which is normally used on these occasions. The drummers, led by Jago Bek, their chief, then took up their position round the drums and began to beat them. As Dakwor there was an ritual lighting of fire (yet) by the sticks as at Kojo and which had preceded all ceremonies relating to the election of the cook and the burial of the old one; possibly the spirit of the late cook had left the place. As the drums began to beat, the chiefs of Gore—with the exception of the chief of Mamore who was in charge of the arrangements for the installation—then being made at the shrine at Akwrwa and had not come—began to dance with the shuffling gait of a religious dance (yiela as opposed to social dance, cieng nyat) and finally all went up to the hut in which the late cook's body had lain for so many months and sang songs to Nyikang outside it just as the chiefs of Lusk had done outside the burial hut at Kojo and an ox (nyiak) was speared as a sacrifice. The purport of this song was "we have asked for cows but instead you have beaten us; please excuse us as our cows this time." This presumably means that they were asking for better treatment under the new cook, for Dak wad Fadiet, "the scourge of Nyikango," had been a more unpopular figure outside his own area.

With this, the important ceremonies were over and the march of the clans followed. The sections which participated were Bath, Bul, Nyiagaro, Pobor, Agada, Bio, Thwaking, Yany, Lul, Padanda, Nyigo, Gollang, Pollening, and Lowe. This took two days. Kadok and Colo did not come, possibly because they were too much in favour of the house of Fadiet and had never supported Dak. Then the pattern of this ceremony in Gore followed closely that which had been performed in Lusk at Kojo, only there was no body to bury. The predatory were had little to do except the unpleasant one of taking up the bier and skins on which the cook's remains had previously lain and rotted and burying them inside the hut and of guarding the sacred enamel outside the hut. I had thought that this hut, where the body of the late cook had been immured, would be broken down when the remains had been brought out to carry to Kojo, but this was not so, and the were had the ghoulish task of breaking down the door and collecting the remains into a presentable bundle while the house was still standing. The hut was still in good condition and will not be broken down until later, when the kingwok Dak will level the hut to ground, though they will continue to occupy the row of the village as formerly."

country to the west, a distance of about one hundred and sixty miles. Here, with the help of Mr. J. L. Baker and Mr. J. D. Udal, I was able supplement the previous accounts by recording actual observations made on the journey with additional information from Shilluk who attended. Mr. Baker was subsequently transferred to another district a few days before the final ceremonies.

Before describing the events as they occurred on this occasion, it will be as well to summarize the main features of the ceremonies according to traditional practice. In the installations of the various Shilluk rulers of which we have records there has been no great deviation from the general principles and what differences are found concern the actual timing and minor elements in ritual.

Nyal Nyiki at Nyikang

We have already seen that when the ruler of Nyikang has finally left the ground of the last rest, he appears in village at Nyigony. This village, together with that of Dak, one of Nyikang, ranks of headmen and ordinary commoners by huge phases of ritual leaders[1], sometimes appear in public during the lifetime of a ruler; normally they are dormant and their principal functions are connected with the installation ceremonies. Nyikang is everywhere, but by the shrines his personality is concentrated in this village. To the Shilluk the village is Nyikang, as they do all our accounts we have given spoken of Nyikang meaning both the village and the spirit; the two are indistinguishable. Throughout the ceremonies the villagers are treated by the Shilluk with a mixture of idolatry and dread, strict measures which are always necessary. When all the preparations have been completed, Nyikang and Dak are carried back from the shrine at Nyikang and into the hamlet of Shilluk nearest to the north. They are carried by men of the two Nyikangs and surrounded by a bodyguard of the same clan armed with whips to clear the people from their path. They then march south-west to Pukwich.

The flight of the ruler to Dakah

As soon as the ruler leaves that Nyikang shrine near, he abandons the capital and comes to the village of Dakah a few miles south of Kodjiran, the watercourse which is the boundary between the two ceremonial divisions of Shilluk country, Gol Nyikang (the north) and Gol Nyikang (the south). These divisions are of great importance in the installation ceremonies and on other occasions have no real significance. The north a division supported in the ceremonial functions which belong by the occupants of Gol Nyikang, and Nyikang, to his north from Akwerra to Pukwich is supported by Gol Dhiang' and, loosely "downward," and a word used to describe the southern districts part of Shilluk country, being merely means "down" or "country of." The origin of these two divisions is hypothetical and the names themselves have no direct connection with the ceremonial oppositions displayed during the installation. The two ceremonial divisions do not correspond exactly (though nearly) with similar divisions, Gol and Lwak, which have a periodic significance in quite another context[2]. At Dakah, the ruler remains in strict seclusion for three days, guarded by day and night, and the village is not open to anyone who is not a personal attendant or from the division of Gol Nyikang. The belief that he is in danger is expressed in a number of ways, including the lighting of fires all round the village at night and the fact that although a special house is built and most carefully decorated in the most secret of ceremonial huts, he actually sleeps in one of the more dilapidated and less conspicuous houses.

[1] See Thomson, *op. cit.* p. 139.

[2] Howell & Thomson, *op. cit.* p. 75 (E).

The search of the orator and the local hosts

Other than eighty in relation to Ontario, during which the followers are concerning from the south, the rock is challenged by Kinkong a rock lords in fight and encouragement on rock for this purpose. Accompanied by Kinkong, the goal of the ceremonies, who plays an important part in subsequent events, for various rites of Kinkong, for the relief and consolidation and the arms, the rock searches on the rocks, crossing mountain on the rock, and greatly the arms of Kinkong for their shores up and, was of Kinkong. In this regard, for a gathering, reported to Kinkong and carried out to the shores of Kinkong (Kinkong) nearby.

The celebrations on the sacred rock

In front of this shelter the sacred rock of Kinkong stops, the Kinkong, is set decorated from the rocks for a moment of white cloth. Kinkong is placed upon this, the other a then is initiated away and the rock takes this place. This act of celebrations and celebrations, perhaps the most significant act of all the ceremonies, is the point where the rock is possessed by the spirit of Kinkong.

The conspiracy camp

Shortly after this the rock is carried to a conspiracy camp (Aiuli), where, after a meeting for a medical and political. The members there in many activities, guarded by the arms.

The road to Ankarana

On the next morning, he journeys into *Ankarana*[1], the interesting mountain which dominates the capital and on which are four individually known. It is said that for a period there for a number of the years, having Kinkong behind, forgotten and neglected. Other rites, slightly, exist in thoughts as that that Kinkong has moved her on the grounds that she has been rejected with spirit from the rocky land. Here on this, Kinkong's property, are that of a man who has not yet been confirmed in the presence as rock.

The final struggle with Kinkong

Challenged, the rock comes down from the mountain with his followers, while Kinkong remains perched on angels into sight in the centre of Fianarantsoa. In a furious battle which follows, the rock succeeds in removing Kinkong and enters into Ankarana once more. Shortly afterwards, Kinkong reunites the mountain and spirits his place with the rock and there follows a ceremonial procession of the troops of the capital and there are imposed on three chiefs who have not fulfilled their obligations to rock there. The rock has now been accepted by Kinkong whose official and public functions are over. Later he returns again to Ankarana.

Seventh Day

On the final day, the chiefs of the conquered ancestors before the ancestral and the rock, accompanied by the ancestors and chiefs known, comes down to meet them. Each chief, in turn, addresses the rock and, after declaring his allegiance, offers him to an the days and to wear his private parts. The rock is then enthroned again among the houses of Fianarantsoa which he now has complete control.

In this brief summary, I have drawn attention only to the most important features of the installation. There is naturally a wealth of ritual carried out at each stage of the ceremonies. From the accounts of the accession of rock Folki in 1917, rock Anni in 1944 and rock Didi in 1948, we have a clear picture of the slow and colourful process by which a rock is chosen and installed. Each stage has its religious and secular aspects and in the short description of the installation of rock Kor and Folki which follows, it will be

[1] Variously spelt: *Anarana*, *Ankaratra*, *Ankarana*.

purpose. Secondly, it was clear that many persons from the southern Shilluk
[49] assumed that he would remain there for a few more nights before proceeding
to Fashoda and were therefore too late to attend the ceremonies.

I reached Kwom, near Dolishi, on the morning of the 6th February. As
[50] their early hour there was little activity, though many of the rwöt's followers
[51] were to be seen clustered round Dolishi. There followed the usual delay while
[52] they (Dak, the clan whose duty it is to provide a bull which is led backwards
in front of the rwöt as he leaves for Fashoda, were still arguing about the
number of spears and other articles they should receive as their reward; [53] [54]
Dhola who provide Nyakwer, the "girl of the ceremonies," who accompanies the
rwöt and plays such an important part in the installation, were also late. Finally,
[55] towards midday, all was ready. Messengers had arrived to say that Nyibong
was on the move, and after stopping over the hill and the performance of the
usual ritual associated with this occasion, the rwöt and his company set out for
Fashoda. I watched the procession depart and as far as I could make out
the formation of the bodyguard and the position of the clans was the same as
in 1948, though a guess that was subtly in the initial stages of the journey.
[56] Owen Wir. J. C. H. Owen[1] (who had attended the installation of rwöt Awet and
of rwöt Dak) and Mr. Udal were present. I decided to leave the rwöt's party and
to move northwards to follow the party of Nyibong. Mr. Udal has recorded
the details of the rwöt's march as follows:

"At last it was we until nearly 12.30 p.m. that the procession finally set
off to meet the forces of Nyibong. The rwöt appeared wearing a Mrs. Grey
cardigan this surrounded by his family entourage including Nyakwer, his
luggage carried on a minister's head and the shield-bearer carrying the small
shield of Nyibong wrapped in white cloth. In addition to his own police in
their scarlet fez, the rwöt on his own initiative had arranged that the new
[57] Government police, stationed at Dolishi for the occasion, should escort him
and they accompanied him throughout the ceremonies. A bull was effectively
cast for the rwöt to step over and with that the procession moved off at a
[58] brisk pace. There was no stop for refreshment as the merchant's shop at
Kwom which had been harassed by rwöt Awet on his way to the installation in
1944. Nor until the Ador Kongolo was reached did the cavalcade, deployed in
crescent line, come to a halt.

"The time was now about 1 p.m. On the northern bank of the watercourse the forces of Nyibong could be seen drawn up in wide formation and the
effigies stood out distinctly at some quarter of a mile's distance. Two messengers
from Nyibong were waiting in the bed of the watercourse, and the black bull,
over which the rwöt must step, was also in evidence. A brief conversation was
held with Nyibong's messengers who then returned to their master. In the
meantime singularly inadequate attempts were made to cast the black bull,
which delayed the proceedings by charging its captors and running away down
Khor Ampaloo, from which it was only recovered with difficulty. Finally it was
well and truly cast, and the rwöt's forces crossed the watercourse with much
shouting and advanced to meet the forces of Nyibong."

[1] See Howell and Thompson, op. cit., pp. 50-55.

27: Munro U-S (1918) 1918 F223 Shellock F223

his followers immediately put to flight the Rat's Army with whips, and the Rat is captured by Ryukong. The Rat is then deserted by all but the small girl, and is surrounded by Ryukong's company. Fabii could now be seen holding Ryukong by the cylindrical body, so that the outside feathers flowed on his head.

After a pause Ryukong and the Rat, accompanied now by a large crowd, proceed to the old place of the pond at Fadumbo. Here the white bull of Lwa Obol is again seen. It has been unwrapped in clothes and blindfolded and is closely surrounded by its own people. Ryukong, the Rat, and the small girl circle twice round this, and then the Rat is lifted up and carried at full length by the Gwara[1] in company with Ryukong which is also carried aloft. As they leave the place of the pond there is a great rush and the clothes are stripped of the bull and torn into shreds presumably to be kept as souvenirs. Ryukong and the Rat are then carried to the Shrine of Ryukong and in front of its threshold can be seen the sacred stool, which has been brought from the palace. This throne chair is a squat stool with four squat legs covered with white cloth and leopard skin. In front of the stool, to act as a veil, a large strip of white dammar with a small red line in it is held up. It is only effective to keep out the vulgar gaze on three sides, and at the back the Shrine of Ryukong should presumably prevent any one seeing what occurs.

Ryukong is then placed on the stool, and the Rat is said to hold its two front legs. Inside the cloth are three people, the Rat, the small girl of Lwa Obol, and the man holding Ryukong.

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[1] Gwara. This clan seems full of mystery: cf. Westermann, p. 109 et seq., 86 et. 03, and 07. It is certain that the ancestor from whom they come was «Kwara». According to Fabii, they were the sons of Obol, son of Ryukong: a fight occurred between them and the Shukus. All the elder sons were killed by the Shukus, but some of the children were left. At this time Dowet should have become Rat, but his position was usurped, and much trouble fell upon the Shilluks. Finally Dowet came to his own, and he then took from those whom the right of rule according to the Rainbow. Since Dowet's time no one has become an Gwara although many have lost their rights of succession. Their present rights at an election are: a) to carry the Rat; b) to guard him throughout the ceremonies. Further at the death of a Rat they make the shroud. The Rat on election is given one girl as a wife from the children of the Gwara.

39:Dempsey M-3 (1940-1954) 1955
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565 563 term applies only to the descendants of the original companions of Nyikang, but in practice it embraces the whole of the common people and includes those who were probably in possession of the land before the coming of the Shilluk and who were conquered and absorbed into the tribe, and individuals of other tribes who, whatever their origin, have come into the country and settled there, eventually merging with the people.

565 564 [567] The last class is that of the Bang Reth, the servants of the king. This group is made up of the king's personal attendants, his wives and the wives of former kings, and the descendants of former royal slaves. It includes also those who have taken up special service with the king because of their reverence for his sacred office as Vicar of Nyikang, those who by reason of their utter destitution have been driven to accept the yoke of bondage to the king that they might share the luxury of the royal table, and those who [567] have been enslaved on account of a crime committed by [581] some member of their family who himself has escaped the king's justice.

565 582 Marriage is permitted between the Kwareth and members of the other three classes with certain exceptions. Thus, for example, a Kwareth may marry into the Bareth, but he may not wed the former wife of a king, or the widow of a king. The daughters of a king may not marry at all; since in theory all the cattle in the land belong to the king, no one can offer him a dowry, and so his daughters must go unmarried. In • 564 565 582 marriage the great rule of exogamy, that is marriage outside the clan, must be observed. Now the Kwareth form only one clan, as also do the Ororo, but the Colo and the Bang Reth are divided into several clans. A member of the Kwareth clan may not therefore marry another Kwareth, or a member of the Ororo another of the same clan, but members of the Colo and the Bareth may marry into other clans of the Colo and Bareth.

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766 535 at length the drums cease to throb, the last of the animals are sacrificed and the meat distributed to the dancers and the people disperse to their homes. The king is dead. . . .

643 666 [642] [669] The country has not, however, remained without a king all this time. The period of interregnum is one of disquiet, and there is always the real fear that one of the nyireth may make a bid for the throne. As soon as possible, then, after the king's death, within a few days in fact, the electorate council meets to choose the new king. This council is made up of eleven chiefs of the Colo, the descendants of the original companions of Nyikang, and three members of the royal houses.

[175] [631] When Nyikang first settled the country he divided it into eleven major districts, appointing a chief to each. These chiefs were all Colo since, as Nyikang was the first Reth, the Kwareth had not then come into being. These eleven chiefs form the board of electors, and with them sit three of the Kwareth, one from each of the three royal houses, those of Papiti, Fadiet and Yor, whose sons are eligible for the kingship. Among these three families there may be as many as forty or fifty nyireth, entitled as such to consideration for the vacant throne. It is generally accepted, however, though not a hard and fast rule, that the three royal families should provide a king in rotation, and it is certainly understood that the family of the late king is automatically ruled out. Attention is therefore concentrated on the claims of the candidates from the other two houses, with the weight of opinion in favour of that one which has the more remotely provided a king. Many of the nyireth are eliminated at once on account of old age, extreme youth, physical debility, weakness of character, etc., and the merits and demerits of the rest are given serious consideration, until the number is reduced to half a dozen or less from among whom the final choice is made. How selection is finally made is the secret of the council. Sometimes the late king may have 'adopted' a certain nyireth, and thus indicated his wish in the matter of his successor. Such an indication does not mean that the king's protégé will certainly be chosen but it will have great

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643 642 reth, no building may be done and the usual burning off of [535] the grass in the early dry season is forbidden.

643 796 [321] [301] During this time also active preparations are on foot for the ceremonies of installation. Iron must be obtained and special ceremonial and presentation spears forged; silver, ivory and ostrich feathers procured for the making of bracelets and other ornaments; a hunting party has to make inroads (either without the knowledge or with the connivance of the government) upon a strictly protected species [237] of antelope in order to obtain the highly prized skins which serve the purpose of purple and ermine in the installation [326] ceremonies. The forging of the sacred spears is introduced with special ceremony; with appropriate sacrifice new fire by the immemorial method of the friction of hard wood upon soft is made and the implements of the blacksmiths blessed.

643 796 778 775 There is great activity during this period of preparation in Akurua in the north of the country, Nyikang's own sacred village. It was from here that the hero-king disappeared in a whirlwind from the sight of mortal man, and it is to Akurua that he returns in order that he may go to Fashoda to install his successor as reth. In the shrine at Akurua are housed the sacred effigies of Nyikang and his son, Dak, which are carried in procession from Akurua to Fashoda for the installation. These effigies consist of heads of [237] ostrich feathers fixed in bamboo sockets, and are in fact fetishes, since the souls of Nyikang and Dak are believed to inhabit them. On the death of a king the old effigies are destroyed and new ones made for the installation of the reth-elect.

643 796 778 [614] When preparations at Fashoda are completed, messengers are sent to Akurua to inform Nyikang that it is time to march to Fashoda. The effigies are then carried out, borne aloft by members of a clan whose special prerogative this is, and start on the journey to the capital, a distance of about seventy miles. The procession moves south at a smart pace. Dak's mop of feathers on the end of a long bamboo pole looks like an oversized feather duster; Nyikang's head of ostrich plumes is very much bigger than that of his son's,

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and the bamboo socket into which it is fitted is shorter and thicker. Behind the effigies are carried Nyikang's 'bed', a long forked stick upon which he is propped at night and a basket of food for his refreshment during the journey. The bearers are surrounded by men of the same clan whose duty it is to keep spectators at a distance, and behind follow Shilluk from the district into which the procession has entered, who act as an escort as far as the next section. The march is kept up at a good pace to the accompaniment of songs sung in honour of Nyikang and Dak. At sunset a halt is made at the nearest large village. Nyikang and Dak are put away for the night, Nyikang being propped up on his 'bed' so that he doesn't touch the ground. His bearers and escort are accommodated in the village, huts being evacuated to receive them and food prepared for them. The next morning the march is resumed, the people flocking to the road from all sides to pay homage to their hero-king as he passes by and joining in the unceasing chants of praise in his honour. Eventually, after some five days on the road, the environments of Fashoda are reached. A village, Adodo, has been set aside for Nyikang and his followers, and they rest there until the day appointed for the installation, about three days hence. During all this time the reth-elect has remained in Fashoda, but when he is informed that Nyikang has arrived at Adodo, he moves away from the capital and takes up his residence at Debalo, a few miles to the south. Nyikang is, as it were, in rightful possession of the territory, and the king-to-be is in the position of an intruder until he has proved his fitness to rule.

Between Fashoda and Debalo lies a long narrow water course, Khor Arepejur. This khor is the traditional boundary fixed by Nyikang himself, between the north and the south. On the morning of the first day of the installation ceremonies, the reth-elect and his followers march towards the khor, the reth leading by the hand a little girl who is his 'bride' and who later will be the cause of a dispute between Nyikang and himself. Arrived at the khor the reth finds stretched out across his path a black bull, over which he steps. (Formerly